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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. II.

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PORTLAND:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1847.

REPRINT, 1902.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The exhaustion of the original edition of 1847 has required this reprint,—intended to be a faithful reproduction.

A few dates and names, manifestly typographical errors, have been changed without remark.

Some statements,—a portion of which were directly derived from Sullivan's District of Maine,—are now known to be erroneous by the light of historical investigations of half a century, and are of sufficient moment to require attention by such as seek accurate history. Corrections of these will be found at the end of the volume page 305.

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PREFACE.

In presenting to the public a second volume of the Collections of the Maine Historical Society, the committee desire to give greater publicity to the "Brief Narration" of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the "Voyage" of Christopher Levett, two prominent articles of the volume. They are both rare works and have a peculiar value among the historical materials of this State. An apology for this republication cannot be needed.

No part of our country is so deeply interested as Maine, in the life and story of Gorges. It was he who engaged most early and earnestly in the colonization of our territory; obtained the first charter for it, and established the first regular government which it enjoyed. It is peculiarly proper that a narrative written by the founder of our State, in the earnestness and ardor of a man zealously devoted to the work of colonization, describing his efforts, his sacrifices, his disappointments and success, in those undertakings, should be preserved in the transactions of a society, which professes to search out and perpetuate the early attempts to colonize and cultivate our soil.

The copy of the original edition of this work used in the present reprint, was kindly loaned for the purpose, from the Library of Harvard College, by President Everett.

Levett's voyage is also entitled to a place in our Collections, for its particular application to our territory. It gives the first minute account we have of that part of our coast which lies between the Piscataqua and Pemaquid; and this is done in so simple and artless a manner, that it wins greatly on our confidence and regard. It was republished in the eighth volume, (third series) of the Massa-

chusetts Historical Collections; but the circulation of that excellent work is so limited among our people, that but few have access to it, or know anything of the voyage or the voyager. Nothing is known of Levett but what appears in the "Voyage," and a transient remark or two in some contemporary record. He built a house on one of the islands within the limits of Portland, with the intention of making it his place of residence. When he returned home, he assured the natives, whose affections he had gained, that it was only for the purpose of bringing his wife and family, to take up his permanent abode among them. We hear nothing more of him, but are well assured that he never more visited this coast, a circumstance much to be regretted, as from his good judgment and conciliatory disposition toward the natives, his services and influence would have been valuable to the early colonists.

The house which he built on an island in Portland harbor, was the first erected in that neighborhood by a white man, and ten years before any other was built in that town.

The other articles in the volume are original contributions, with one or two exceptions. Several of them are town histories, some of which have been in possession of the Society a number of years, and are useful as exhibiting the painful struggles and the toilsome progress of the pioneers in our early settlements. We have thought it best to preserve these documents in a form accessible to future explorers. The more recent history of these towns is perpetuated in the multiplied and permanent records of the press.

All the articles contained in the volume, with the exceptions before referred to, reach back, in a greater or less degree, into the antiquity of our State, and furnish materials or guides to a more full development of the foundations and growth of our commonwealth. It is hoped that they will lead to a more full and thorough investigation of records and documents lying neglected in various parts of our State, and cause the abundant materials they contain, to be embodied in a convenient and enduring form.

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ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED AT BRUNSWICK,

SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1846,

BY GEORGE FOLSOM.

"But I doubt not * * * it will prove a very flourishing place, and be replenished with many faire Townes and Cities, it being a Province both fruitful and pleasant."

F. GORGES. *Description of the Province of Maine.*

DISCOURSE.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Historical Society:

Indifference to the past, considered as a national characteristic, is a mark of rudeness and incivilization. A purely savage people live only in the present moment. The satisfaction of immediate wants, the enjoyment of the passing hour, make up the sum total of their existence. They have no monuments of former generations, and they leave none of themselves. To them, the deeds of forefathers, the exploits of other times, the good or evil that marked an earlier day, afford no examples and impart no instruction. It is as if none had lived before them, and none were to come after. Equally indifferent to the future, they make no provision for a day beyond that which already dawns upon them, and care as little for the next generation as the last.

Such are mankind in their natural and uncultivated state. But as they emerge into the light of civilization, a change comes over the scene. An enlarged horizon exhibits new objects to the view. Their gaze is no longer fixed, animal-like, upon the narrow compass of earth that suffices for present indulgence; but looking upward towards Heaven, as well as around upon the outspreading landscape, they begin to feel the sub-

limity of their intellectual nature, and to call into exercise the faculties that God has endowed them with, but of which they were before unconscious. Now awakens the thirst of knowledge,—the strong and insatiable desire to grasp at something beyond mere existence. The well-spring of thought bubbles up, stimulating and fertilizing the perceptions, and a thousand imaginations and conceits pour forth in undisciplined confusion. Reason and reflection soon, however, assert their rights, and the plastic hand of cultivation moulds all into shape and order.

The present moment is now no longer the limit of the mind's ken. It supplies too gross a material for the exercise of the awakened powers, and the imagination scorns to feed upon it. Stretching back to the past, or diving deep into futurity, it delights to take to itself the wings of fancy, and revel and riot amid the scenes that bear it away from the sensualities and follies, the cares and distractions, of the fleeting moment. It conjures up the realities of a by-gone age, and seeks to learn the motives, the principles, the habits, both of body and mind, and all that was comprised in the career of those who once lived and flourished, but have long slumbered in the Valley of Silence. It was at this stage of progress, that the Father of History unfolded his luminous page, and recited to his assembled countrymen the glorious deeds and chivalric achievements of their departed sires, or traced the daring exploits of the half-fabulous heroes who made Greece the arena for the display of superhuman courage and unrivalled prowess. It is needless to add that the land rung with praises of the man, who had thus successfully appealed both to the new-born thirst

for historic lore, and to that other and scarcely less civilized sentiment, THE LOVE OF ONE'S OWN NATIVE LAND.

Advancing improvement strengthens the desire to converse with departed excellence, and national pride leads to the erection of lasting monuments to perpetuate its fame. Memorials are sought on every hand, but, alas! it too often happens that inattention or neglect, on the part of contemporaries, occasions the loss of what a subsequent age would be sure to prize as the precious reliques of genius or distinguished merit. How little is known, for instance, of the private history of England's great dramatist, and with what eagerness are the faintest traces of his every-day life sought and treasured up! Yet with a little care exercised either in his own day, or by those of the next succeeding generation, enough might have been preserved to enable his admirers, in all ages, to form a correct conception of the life and personal character of the man whose genius is the proudest boast of English literature.

Great national events likewise often fail of a proper appreciation from the want of due care in preserving the memorials of their occurrence. To the historical student many cases in point will suggest themselves. The history of American discovery may be mentioned as singularly deficient in the requisite materials for its elucidation. The important voyages of Sebastian Cabot and Americus Vespucius are involved in much obscurity from this cause, and the chart or map drawn by the former to illustrate his discoveries, has long been classed among the things "lost on earth." Navarrete, in Spain, has done much to rescue from

oblivion the services rendered by his countrymen, in the discovery of the New World; but had the work been commenced at an earlier period, the results would doubtless have been far more satisfactory and complete.

In this country, something has already been done towards the preservation of the materials of history; and it is gratifying to find an increased interest awakened in the subject, and a higher appreciation of its importance entertained, at the present time, than at any former period. It marks to some extent the character of the age, and affords, according to the general views just presented, an indication of progress, a sign of intellectual growth, in our social character. The Documentary History, now in the course of publication under the auspices of the general government, is a work of which any country might be proud; and if completed according to the plan of its intelligent editor,* it will be a noble monument to the liberality and enlightened patriotism of our national legislature. The states individually have also awakened to the importance of collecting and preserving their public records, and in some of the older commonwealths considerable appropriations have been made of late years to defray the expense of arranging and making secure what is too often regarded as the useless lumber of antiquity. It is certainly desirable, in every point of view, economical as well as historical, that a similar course should be pursued in the public offices of all our States; for often the preservation of a single document may lead to results of greater value

*Peter Force, Esq., late Mayor of the city of Washington.

than all the labor and expense required to effect this object.

The publications of the English Record Commissions are an example of what may be accomplished by a great and enlightened nation for the preservation of its public records. The work was commenced in the year 1800, and was continued nearly forty years, during which time there were printed of the ancient records of the kingdom, commencing with the reign of William the Conqueror, one hundred and eleven volumes, of which eighty-six are in folio; and the amount expended by the government in connection with this object, during that period, is estimated at nearly a million of pounds sterling, or about five millions of dollars. The same liberal and munificent spirit that has led to the achievement of this great enterprise, not satisfied with having provided for the security of the documents contained in those massive volumes, by their publication, has also governed their distribution; for copies were sent to most of the colleges and many other literary institutions of this country, which certainly had no claim upon the liberality of the British government. This great work has raised another monument to the far-famed national spirit of that monarchy, which ever seeks, by appropriate means, to foster and sustain the reputation of her sons and the glory of her ancient name.

The long connexion of the people of this country with the European governments, of which they were colonies, renders our own archives incomplete without resorting to those abroad; and hence some of the State Legislatures have so far interested themselves in this subject, as to send agents to the mother

countries to procure copies of documents illustrative of their early history. The Legislature of New York appropriated about fifteen thousand dollars for this purpose, and her Agent was employed three years in the performance of his labors, during which time he examined the archives of London, Paris, and the Hague, and brought home an invaluable collection of State Papers, and other documents of great value and interest. Georgia, likewise, with commendable liberality, has instituted a similar agency abroad, which resulted in the acquisition of twenty-two folio manuscript volumes, obtained from the English offices, and deposited by the direction of the Legislature with the Historical Society of that State. Massachusetts, distinguished for her enlightened legislation, and ever alive to whatever promotes the cause of learning and education, has established a similar agency in London and Paris; and it is believed that many other States are prepared to adopt the same course.

But the most striking evidence of the attention now bestowed on the subject of historical investigation in this country, is found in the organization of Historical Societies throughout the Union, having in view the specific object of collecting and preserving the materials of history. The Massachusetts society was the first in the field: it has already published twenty-nine volumes of Collections, containing a prodigious mass of information, relating chiefly to the history of New England. One of itsf ounders, and its first President, was a native of this State; I refer to the late JAMES SULLIVAN, then a resident of Boston and afterwards Governor of Massachusetts. This gentleman also produced a history of this State, then the Dis-

trict of Maine, which although far from being a faultless work, was highly creditable to the industry and patriotism of its Author. Associated with Sullivan in founding and sustaining that Society, were BELKNAP, ELIOT, FREEMAN, MINOT, TUDOR, THATCHER, KIRKLAND, WINTHROP, DAVIS, QUINCY, SAVAGE, BRADFORD, HARRIS, and others, who formed a phalanx of intellectual strength and erudition not often surpassed.*

The New York Historical Society was founded at a somewhat later period than that of Massachusetts, but was the next in order of time, and is now in the forty-second year of its existence. Among those who were among its earliest members, (but now deceased,) may be named Egbert Benson, John Pintard, Rufus King, De Witt Clinton, Dr. Hosack, Bishop Hobart, Daniel D. Tompkins, Dr. Mitchell, Brockholst Livingston, and Peter A. Jay. The President of this society, at the present time, is the HON. ALBERT GALLATIN, who at a very advanced age finds solace in literary pursuits, to which his time is chiefly devoted.† The Library of this institution is large, and rich in American history; and is the resort of historical students from all parts of

*See an excellent sketch of the history of the Massachusetts Society, by the Rev. WILLIAM JENKS, D. D., in the twenty-seventh volume of its Collections. Dr. Jenks states, that the Rev. Dr. Belknap, author of a well known and highly esteemed History of New Hampshire, "has been uniformly regarded as the principal founder of that Society."

†This gentleman is also President of the American Ethnological Society, established at New York. The first volume of the Transactions of that learned association appeared last year, consisting chiefly of an elaborate essay upon the languages, astronomy, &c., of the ancient inhabitants of Mexico and Central America, by Mr. Gallatin. This remarkable work, involving much abstruse learning, and acute discrimination, is one of the greatest trophies of an intellectual old age the world ever saw; having been composed by the venerable author in his *eighty-fifth* year.

the country. Its members are numerous, and the papers read at its monthly meetings usually attract a large concourse of persons of literary taste and habits. Besides its volumes of Collections, this Society publishes an annual report of its transactions, containing the Papers read during the year.

I have spoken more particularly of the societies of Massachusetts and New York, as being the oldest in the country; but there are many others of a more recent date, which are equally efficient and useful. They bring together much of the learning and talent of their respective States, and afford to politicians a neutral ground on which they can meet without danger of hostile collision; for surely nothing is better fitted to inspire proper feelings in the hearts of the living, than the contemplation of the virtues of those who have preceded them on the stage of active life, and patriotism itself is kindled by surveying the trophies and memorials which a grateful country exhibits to exalt the fame of her distinguished sons. We have no Westminster Abbey to perpetuate the remembrance of valor, genius, or beneficence; even Washington sleeps in a common tomb with his kindred, and of his distinguished associates in the field, how few of us can tell where their remains now repose! If Historical Associations should do no more than point out the resting places of departed merit, disencumbering the humble tombstone of its moss, and freshening the sod that lies upon the grave of genius, they will perform a truly grateful though it may be humble office, and be the means of holding up to public view examples worthy of imitation.

The Society I have the honor to address was insti-

tuted in 1822, and numbered among its early friends and founders some of the most eminent names in the State. It has already rendered good service by the publication of a volume that sheds much light on the early history of a large portion of Maine; and should its organization give birth to nothing beyond that volume, so replete with the fruits of patient research, its existence would be marked by no idle or unsatisfactory result. But there is no reason it should stop here; there is much more work for it to perform before its destiny be accomplished. There is no part of our country whose history is more diversified, and instructive, than these Northern shores; none less known, or full of more exciting incident. The long subjection of Maine to a rival colony, gave it less interest and importance in the eyes of the general historian than it deserved to possess; but having at length resumed its original independence, with the means of developing its vast resources, and extending its wealth and population, this State must hereafter occupy a prominent position in our country, and a conspicuous place on the page of history.

I propose in the remainder of this discourse to call your attention to some of the facts connected with the early discovery and settlement of Maine, and the character of those who were most active in the work of colonization.

To Columbus belongs the glory of having solved the great problem, as to the existence of lands in the west: but in his estimation, the discovery owed its chief importance to the supposed identity of those lands with the opulent, but remote regions of Cathay, or China, and the Indies. Impressed with this idea, the great nav-

igator, even in his last voyage, took with him persons skilled in the Arabic language, for the purpose of being enabled to hold intercourse with the Khan of Tartary, as the Emperor of China was then styled, whose dominions he expected to reach by sailing west from Hispaniola. This voyage terminated twelve years after the first discovery, and resulted only in the exploration of the coast of Central America, from the Bay of Honduras to the Spanish Main.

The same idea led to the discovery of the continent of North America, by the Cabots in 1497. The account of the matter given by Sebastian Cabot, who was the master spirit on that occasion, is that the news of the discoveries made by Columbus, caused a great sensation at the court of Henry VII., who then reigned in England, and it was thought a wonderful thing, "more divine than human, to sail by the west to the lands in the east, where spices grow." The fame of this achievement kindled a desire in his own mind to attempt something of a similar character, and "understanding," he says, "by reason of the sphere, that if I should sail by the northwest, I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the king to be advertised of my device," &c. He afterwards adds, "I began therefore to sail towards the northwest, not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay, and from thence to turn towards India; but after certain days, I found that the land ran towards the north, which to me was a great displeasure."*

*Hakluyt. Thus Lord Bacon characterizes Cabot's discovery as "a memorable accident," and the great navigator he describes "as one Sebastian Gabato, a Venetian, dwelling at Bristol, a man seen and expert in cosmography and navigation." *Hist. Henry VII.*

The accounts of this voyage, and of a second in the same direction, made by Sebastian Cabot the following year, are extremely meagre; no details of them were published by the navigator himself, and after his death, his original maps and papers disappeared in a mysterious manner. But there is sufficient evidence to show that he first discovered land, after pursuing a northwest course from Bristol Channel, on the coast of Labrador, in latitude about 56°, on the 24th of June, the day of St. John the Baptist. In honor of the day, he gave the name of St. John to a small island, on the same coast, which has latterly disappeared from our maps. It is now supposed that Cabot, after making this discovery, continued his course to the north, as high as latitude 67°, and entered Hudson's bay; finding the sea still open, he said that he might and would have gone to Cathay, had it not been for the mutinous conduct of the master and mariners, who compelled him to retrace his steps. The ship in which he sailed was called the Matthew, of Bristol.

Obtaining a new patent from the king, he again sailed the following year with several vessels and about three hundred persons, for the purpose, it is supposed, of forming a colony. It was during this voyage that he sailed along the whole coast of the United States, and laid the foundation of the English claim to the country.

Some particulars of these voyages are given by Peter Martyr, the celebrated Italian, a resident in Spain at that period, who derived his information from Cabot himself, when a guest at his house. According to this writer, Cabot called the lands he had discovered "BACCALAOS, a name," says Martyr, "given by

the inhabitants to a large kind of fish, which appeared in such shoals, that they sometimes interrupted the progress of the ships." This word is now used in several European languages, to denote the codfish, either in its natural or dried state. It is found on some of the oldest maps of North America, as applied by Cabot to the countries he discovered, but is generally restricted to the island since called Newfoundland.*

The name of Labrador is Portuguese, having been given with some others by a Portuguese navigator, Gaspar de Cortereal, who visited the same coast in 1501, and left his own name applied to an extensive tract of country on the borders of Hudson's Bay, long known as *Terra Corterealis.*

The name Norumbega was subsequently used to designate nearly the whole of the Continent north of Florida. This is supposed to be an Indian word, with a Latin termination,† and was generally used by the French, until it was superseded by another Indian name, which the French wrote Cadie, or Acadie, and sometimes with the Latin termination, as Cadia, or Acadia, but which the English changed into a less poetical word, by writing *Quoddy* instead or *Cadie.*‡

Norumbega, at a later period, was confined to the country lying north of Virginia; thus on a map con-

*Thus Cortes, writing in 1524, proposes to explore "the northern coast of Florida as far as the *Bacallaos.*" *Despatches*, p. 417.

†Sometimes written *Arambec*, or *Arambeag*. It is remarked by Sullivan that the Indian word *eag* signifies *land*, and he thus accounts for its frequent occurrence in local names. Father Rale, in his Dictionary of the Abenaqui dialect, gives the words *ki* and *kik* (kee and keek), as meaning land; but Gallatin's Synopsis of Indian languages, (Long Island Vocabulary,) has "keagh, or eage;" the difference is, however, only in the orthography; the words are the same.

‡The bay of Passamaquoddy, is on the French maps named *Pesmo-cadie.*

tained in Wytfliet's supplement to Ptolemy, published as late as 1603, it has New France on the north, and Virginia on the South. A city of the same name is also laid down on this map, situated upon a large river, supposed to be the Penobscot. A map of North America, contained in the Novus Orbis of De Laet, published in 1633, distributes the country into the following divisions, commencing on the north: New France, Cadie, Norumbega, (comprising the territory between the St. Croix and Kennebec), New England, New Netherland, Virginia, and Florida. Purchas in describing the coast of Maine, refers to former accounts of "a great town and fair river called Norumbega," and adds, that the French discoverers deny the existence of any such place, affirming that there are only cabins, covered with bark or skins, to be found in that region, and that the true name of the village and river is Pentegoet, a name long applied by the French to the Penobscot. This more accurate account of the matter was the result of visits to that river, by the French, at the period of their first settlements in Nova Scotia.

According to Hakluyt, and other writers, the Indians had a general designation for the territory comprised within the forty-third and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, almost the precise limits of the sea coast of Maine, and extending forty leagues into the interior. This territory they called MAVOOSHEN, "which," says Hakluyt, "was discovered by the English in the years 1602, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9," implying that voyages were made to it by the English in each of those years, a statement fully confirmed by evidence from other sources. The government of all the Indians dwell-

ing within these limits, and of others as far south as Massachusetts, was in the hands of a single Cacique, or Sachem, to whom the inferior Sagamores of the various tribes owed allegiance. His title as given by the English Navigators who first visited the country, was Bashaba, and Dr. Belknap remarks that "we have no account of any other Indian chief in these northern parts of America, whose authority was so extensive."* The place of his residence was probably on the banks of the Penobscot, and as it was also the seat of his government, the fabulous accounts of a large city in that quarter may have arisen from exaggerated descriptions of this humble capital of the Bashaba's dominions.

Notwithstanding the discoveries of the Cabots, with the exception of one or two expeditions from Bristol, fitted out by the enterprising merchants of that city, no subsequent efforts were made in England for a long period to follow up what had been so well begun. During the protracted reign of Henry VIII., those important discoveries seem to have been forgotten; nor was their memory revived in the succeeding reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary. The English merchants were satisfied with quietly despatching their frail barks to the fishing grounds, and drawing from the ocean-depths the more available sources of commercial thrift. Sebastian Cabot had gone into the service of Spain, and more than seventy years elapsed before the attention of the English government was again directed to the American coast. During all this long period, not an English colonist was landed upon

*1 Am. Biog. 351.

any portion of the American continent, to mark the possession of the country on the part of those who afterwards claimed an exclusive right to every inch of the soil from Florida to Greenland. The maxim in those days was, Veni, Vidi, *Habui;* or, in the language of the poet,

> "The time once was here, to all be it known,
> When all a man sailed by, or saw, was his own."

At length, towards the close of the sixteenth century, Sir Humphry Gilbert, one of the most accomplished men in England, undertook an expedition to Newfoundland; and his half brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, despatched another for the discovery of land to the north of Florida. But these efforts, however honorable to their authors, proved disastrous in the end. The wretched colonists planted by Sir Walter on the meagre coast of North Carolina were finally abandoned to their fate, and, cut off from all communication with the civilized world, are supposed to have perished of hunger, or by the hands of savages. The only result of any value or importance that followed the spirited exertions of that gifted genius, at whose private expense the attempt was made, was the opening of the hitherto unexplored wilds of Virginia to the knowledge of the world, which led to more successful efforts to colonize that portion of our country at a subsequent date.

The French were equally unsuccessful during the same century in all their enterprises to the new world; not a single permanent settlement was effected by them on any part of the American coast. Although

repeated commissions were issued for the colonization of the country under the name of New France, the whole of North America, with the exception of Florida and Mexico, continued an unbroken wilderness, without a single European family in all its extent, until the commencement of the seventeenth century. This vast and dreary solitude was first broken on the borders of this State, by the French colony of De Monts, who passed the winter of 1603–4 on the island of St. Croix, situated in the river of the same name, on the line separating Maine from New Brunswick.

The spirit of colonization received a new impulse in England at the same period. The numerous fishing voyages from the western ports, especially Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth, had divested the ocean of its terrors, and a visit to the American coast had become no unusual occurrence. In the summer of 1602, a small party of colonists embarked from Falmouth, and arrived on the coast of Massachusetts; having selected a location upon a small island near the southern shore of that State, to which they gave the name of Elizabeth island, they prepared to take up their abode there; but when the ship was about to leave on its return to England, their hearts failed them, and they hastily abandoned the enterprise. But the pleasing accounts these persons gave of the country after their return, and the shortness of the voyage, produced a favorable impression at home, and encouraged other enterprises of a similar character.

Richard Hakluyt, the author of the well known geographical work that bears his name, was at that

time a prebendary of St. Augustine's Church at Bristol; taking a lively interest in promoting voyages of discovery to different parts of the globe, he induced the corporation of Bristol and some of the merchants of that city, to unite in fitting out a small expedition to America the following year. It consisted of two vessels named the Speedwell and the Discoverer, with a ship's company of about fifty persons, amongst whom were several who had been in the expedition of the previous year. The command was given to Martin Pring, an experienced seaman. The vessels were victualled for eight months, and provided with various kinds of clothing, hardware and trinkets, to trade with the natives. They sailed on the 10th of April, 1603, a few days after the death of Queen Elizabeth, and reached the American coast on the 7th of June, between the 43d and 44th degrees of latitude, among those numerous islands with which Penobscot bay is studded. There they found good anchorage and fishing, and gave the name of Fox islands to the group now bearing that name.

Leaving that part of the coast, Captain Pring ranged to the southwest, and explored the inlets, rivers and bays, as far as the southern coast of Massachusetts. Here he named a bay where they landed, "by the name of the Worshipful Master, John Whitson, then Mayor of the city of Bristol, and one of the chief adventurers." A pleasant hill adjoining they called *Mount Aldworth*, "for Master Robert Waldworth's sake, a chief furtherer of the voyage, as well with his purse as his travel." Aldworth was a wealthy merchant of Bristol, who nearly thirty years after was one of

the grantees at Pemaquid, in conjunction with Giles Elbridge.

The object of this expedition having been accomplished by a careful survey of the country, and the vessels having received a full freight of sassafras and furs, Pring returned to England, where he arrived after a passage of five weeks. The whole voyage was completed in six months.

The next visit to the coast of Maine was in 1605, by Capt. George Weymouth, who having in view the discovery of Virginia, came in sight of the American coast on the 14th of May, in the latitude of 41° 20′; but finding himself in the midst of shoals and breakers, he made sail and at the distance of fifty leagues discovered several islands, to one of which he gave the name of St. George, which is still borne by a group of islands near the entrance to Penobscot river; about three leagues from this island, Weymouth came into a harbor which he called Pentecost harbor, and sailed up a noble river, now supposed to have been the Penobscot. But the most important circumstance connected with this voyage is, that on his return to England, Weymouth took with him several Indians, three of whom on his arrival at Plymouth he committed to the charge of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of the Fort at that place. "This accident," says Gorges, in his Description of New England, "must be acknowledged the means, under God, of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations." He adds, that he kept these Indians for three years, and endeavored to elicit from them as much information as possible respecting their native country; and that the longer he conversed with them, the bet-

ter hope they gave him of those parts where they inhabited, as well fitted for the purposes of settlement, "especially when he found what goodly rivers, stately islands, and safe harbors those parts abounded with."

Thus encouraged, Sir Ferdinando despatched a ship the following year, (1606), under the command of Henry Challong, accompanied by two of the natives, with directions to keep a northerly course to Cape Breton, and then to run to the southward, following the coast until he reached Penobscot bay. Instead, however, of following these directions, the ship's course was shaped for the West Indies; this led to their capture by the Spaniards, who carried them into a Spanish port, where, says Sir Ferdinando, "their ship and goods were confiscated, themselves made prisoners, the voyage overthrown, and both the natives lost." This was one of those unfortunate mischances to which projectors of voyages were peculiarly exposed at that period, and which served to discourage enterprises of this character.

Soon after the departure of Challong, another ship under the command of Capt. Thomas Hanham and Capt. Pring, was despatched from Bristol by Lord Chief Justice Popham, with instructions to meet Challong at the Penobscot;* but not finding him at that place, they continued their course along shore, and made, says Gorges, "a perfect discovery of all those rivers and

*The Plymouth Company, in a relation or manifesto published by them at a subsequent period, say of this voyage, that "it pleased the noble Lord Chief Justice, Sir John Popham, knight, to send out another ship, wherein Captain Thomas Hanham went commander, and Martine Prinne of Bristow master, with all necessary supplies, for the seconding of Captain Challons and his people; who arriving at the place appointed, and

harbors indicated in their instructions, and brought with them the most exact discovery of that coast that ever came to my hands since."

In the meantime, new and extensive plans were formed for the colonization of the country. Individual efforts had been found insufficient for this purpose; it was necessary to awaken the attention of the government to its importance, and by securing the concurrence of the king and persons of rank, to increase the general interest in the undertaking. Sir John Popham, the Lord Chief Justice of England, was at this period in the zenith of his power and influence; venerable for his age, respected for his wise administration of the law, and strong in the confidence of the crown. He is accused by a recent writer* of having displayed too great alacrity in passing sentence upon Sir Walter Raleigh, when convicted of high treason; but the conduct of the Chief Justice on that occasion seems to have been marked by forbearance throughout. Sir Walter was tried by a special commission of eleven persons, consisting of several Peers of the realm, the Chief Justice and three other Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas; the jury was composed of knights and gentlemen of undoubted integrity. It might be difficult to convict a person on the same

not finding that Captain there, after they had made some discovery, and found the coasts, havens and harbors answerable to our desires, they returned." "Upon whose relations," say the Company "afterwards, the lord chief justice and we all waxed so confident of the business, that the year following every man of any worth, formerly interested in it, was willing to join in the charge for the sending over a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopeful plantation."

*Discourse on the Life and Character of Sir Walter Raleigh, delivered by J. Morrison Harris, before the Maryland Historical Society, May 19, 1846; an able and eloquent production.

evidence at the present day, and the trial was scandalously managed on the part of the prosecuting attorney, Sir Edward Coke, even for that period; but Popham is not answerable for the imperfect state of the rules of evidence nearly two centuries and a half ago, nor for the brutal conduct of Coke towards the unfortunate prisoner. When called upon to pronounce the judgment of the court, the Chief Justice manifested feelings of regret and sorrow, while at the same time he commented with firmness upon the enormity of the offence of which one so highly gifted, and so capable of serving the state, had been found guilty. "I thought," said the venerable judge, no doubt with tears in his eyes, "I thought I should never have seen this day, to have stood in this place to have given sentence of death against you; because I thought it impossible that one of so great parts should have fallen so grievously." Again he says, "Now it resteth to pronounce the judgment, which I wish you had not been this day to have received of me. * * * I never saw the like trial, and hope I shall never see the like again."

The Chief Justice was a native of the west of England, and at the period in question resided at Wellington, in Somersetshire, where he passed much of his time, and entertained with great hospitality and splendor. An old writer says of him, that he was the greatest housekeeper in England, and would have at his seat of Littlecote four or five Lords at a time.*

In the same county, in the parish of Long Ashton, four or five miles from the city of Bristol, lived Sir

*Aubrey's Lives of Eminent Men, &c. Vol. 2d. p. 494.

Ferdinando Gorges, the founder of this State, and the Lord Proprietor of the original Province of Maine. Among all the friends of American colonization in England, none displayed so much zeal, energy and perseverance, as Gorges; when others were discouraged by unpromising results, he maintained his resolution, and insisted upon the practicability of his plans. Nor was his mind diverted from this great object of his life, until the extremities to which the king was reduced, demanded the entire services of his loyal subjects. Gorges was then an old man; full forty years had elapsed since his attention had been first directed to the shores of the New World, and he had expended many thousand pounds in furthering its discovery and settlement; but when his services were required by his sovereign, with all the instincts of English loyalty, the old knight buckled on his sword, and followed and shared the fortunes of his royal master.

Such were the two master spirits, who, in 1606, undertook the noble work of peopling these northern shores from the English coast, and who actually planted, at that early period, a numerous and well-provided colony on a spot a few miles only from the place where we are now assembled. It was sneeringly said by an old writer, in speaking of Chief Justice Popham, that "he not only punished malefactors, but provided for them, and first set up the discovery of *New* England to maintain and employ those that could not live honestly in the *old*."* But the object was generally acknowledged to be one of great national importance in many points

*Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 46.

of view, and Popham and Gorges succeeded in enlisting many of the first names in England in behalf of the enterprise. The plan was to establish two plantations, one in the north, and the other in the south, to be called the first and second colony; the first to be undertaken by a London company, and the second, "by certain knights, gentlemen, and merchants in the west of England." The design received the approbation of the king, by whom a charter was accordingly issued, under which the first permanent colony was planted in South Virginia, by the London company. The other associates of the second colony, who took the name of the Plymouth company, succeeded in despatching two or three ships with a hundred colonists to North Virginia, as this part of the country was then called; the expedition was commanded by Capt. George Popham, a brother of the Chief Justice, and Capt. Raleigh Gilbert, a nephew of the unfortunate Sir Humphry, who led a colony to Newfoundland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Sir John, a brother of Raleigh Gilbert, was also a prominent member of the Plymouth Company. The expedition sailed from Plymouth on the last day of May, in the year 1607, consisting of the ships called the Gift, and the Mary and John, and arrived on the coast of this State, near the island of Monhegan, early in August; thence they proceeded to the mouth of the Kennebec, then called Sagadehock, where the colonists disembarked, and selected a site for their future residence. There is some doubt as to the precise spot on which they erected their temporary dwellings and defences, and organized the government of the colony; Stage Island,

Parker's Island, and a neighboring peninsula, have respectively enjoyed the reputation of having received this band of English exiles, who first sought a home on our shores; but time has probably left no traces of the settlement. It is stated, however, by Purchas, on the authority of a letter from Capt. George Popham to Sir John Gilbert, cited by him, that "they chose the place of their plantation at the mouth of Sagadehoc, *in a westerly peninsula*, where they heard a sermon, read their patent and laws, and built a fort."* The peninsula here mentioned was probably that now known as Cape Small Point, on which it would seem most probable that the colony was located, and Fort St. George, as it was called, built for the protection of the colonists.

Measures were immediately taken to explore the neighboring country. For this purpose Raleigh Gilbert was despatched, attended by one of the Penobscot Indians that had been carried to England, two of whom accompanied the expedition. Gilbert was kindly treated by the natives with whom he met, and was invited to their cabins. They expressed a desire that the head of the colony should pay a visit to the Bashaba, the great chief, who dwelt on the banks of the Penobscot. Popham consented to go, and had proceeded some distance on his journey, when contrary winds and bad weather compelled him to return. The Bashaba afterwards sent his son to visit the English chief, and open a trade in furs. Such was the state observed by this Indian potentate, that he expected, says Gorges, "all strangers should have their address to him, and not he to them."

*This account was first published by Purchas in 1616.

The ships in which the colonists had arrived were not ready to return until the 15th of December, when a winter of great severity had set in. In England, as well as America, that winter was long remembered for its unusual degree of cold. The Thames at London was frozen over, and rendered passable upon the ice, a circumstance that is said rarely to occur. The Sagadehock colonists, unused to such rigorous weather, attributed it to the fault of the climate, and many of them, disheartened by the farther prospect of being exposed to numerous privations on a strange and inhospitable coast, resolved to return to England with the ships. Of the whole number only forty-five, less than one-half, had the courage to remain.

In the meantime another ship with fresh supplies for the colony, was on its way to their relief. But she bore at the same time the melancholy intelligence of the death of Chief Justice Popham, which had occurred soon after the departure of the first ships from England, on the tenth of June, 1607. The Company in their manifesto speak of this event in the following manner: "In the meanwhile it pleased God to take from us this worthy member, the Lord Chief Justice, whose sudden death did so astonish the hearts of the most part of the adventurers, [the members of the Company in England,] as some grew cold, and some did wholly abandon the business. Yet Sir Francis Popham, his son, and certain of his private friends, and others of us, omitted not the next year (holding on our first resolution) to join in sending forth a new supply, which was accordingly performed. But the ships arriving there, did not only bring uncomfortable news of the death of the lord chief justice, together with the death

of Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother unto Captain Raleigh Gilbert, who at that time was president of that council [the colony]; but found that the old Captain Popham was also dead; who was the only man indeed that died there that winter, wherein they endured still greater extremities; for that in the depth thereof, their lodgings and stores were burnt, and they thereby wondrously distressed."

It is not strange that amidst so many discouraging circumstances, to which was added the necessity of Raleigh Gilbert's return to England on account of his brother's death, the remaining colonists should turn their eyes wishfully towards their English homes, and even resolve to abandon the enterprise. Accordingly, when the ship that had brought them supplies was ready to sail, early in the spring of 1608, they all embarked and arrived safely in England.[1]*

In justification of this abandonment of the country, it was of course denounced by the returning emigrants as unfit to be inhabited by civilized beings; as cold, barren and inhospitable. And yet the letters first received from the colony had represented it as "stored with grapes, white and red, good hops, onions, garlick, oaks, walnuts, and the soil good. They found oysters nine inches in length, and heard of others twice as great."† As to the climate, although the winter was one of almost unprecedented severity everywhere, it had produced no mortality among their number, unless the death of old Capt. Popham may be set down to that cause, who was the only one that died amidst the

*This figure, and others subsequent, refer to Notes and Corrections at end of volume, p. 305.

†Purchas.

hardships suffered by the colonists. How superior was the spirit exhibited twelve years after by the Pilgrim emigrants at Plymouth, nearly half of whose number perished within four months after their landing, yet animated by a settled religious purpose, no one of the survivors entertained a thought of relinquishing their design. Had a tithe of their energy and resolute spirit animated the Kennebec colonists, whose resources were so much superior, a more grateful task might have awaited the pen that should relate the story of this enterprise.*

Nor did the colonists suffer to any considerable extent from collisions with the natives; on the other hand, they seem to have been treated by them with much kindness and hospitality, owing probably to favorable representations made by those of their number who had resided in the family of Gorges at Plymouth,

*The Massachusetts Colony, under the direction of the prudent WINTHROP, scarcely suffered a less mortality than the Pilgrims, although they arrived early in summer. "Many died weekly, yea, almost daily," says one of them; and another writes that "almost in every family lamentation, mourning, and woe were heard, and no fresh food to cherish them." This was chiefly during the few weeks that the colonists remained at Charlestown, and was occasioned in a considerable degree by the want of good water. After their removal in the same summer (1630) to the peninsula on which the foundations of Boston were laid by them, the sickness abated in consequence of a better supply of the pure element found there. About two hundred died during the season. In the midst of these troubles, Gov. Winthrop wrote to his wife, whom he had left in England for the present, in the following words: "I thank God, I like so well to be here that I do not repent my coming; and if I were to come again, I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions. * * I praise God, we have many occasions of comfort here, and do hope that our days of affliction will soon have an end, and that the Lord will do us more good in the end than we could have expected, that will abundantly recompense for all the trouble we have endured." Winthrop's Journal, Savage's ed. vol. 1. p. 377. Hist. Charlestown, by R. Frothingham, Jr. pp. 42, 43.

and now acted as guides and interpreters to the English in their intercourse with the red men. Purchas, who derived his information from Raleigh Gilbert, and others of the Colony, thus speaks of the Indians: "The people seemed affected with our men's devotions, and would say, 'king James is a good king, his God a good God, and *Tanto* nought;' so they call an evil spirit which haunts them every moon, and makes them worship him for fear. He commanded them not to dwell near or come among the English, threatening to kill some, and inflict sickness on others, beginning with two of the sagamore's children; saying he had power and would do the like to the English the next moon, to wit, in December." Then follows a story calculated to alarm the poor emigrants, and which may have had some effect in unsettling their resolution: "The people also told our men of cannibals near Sagadehock *with teeth three inches long*, but they saw them not." One person, styled Master Patterson, was killed in an encounter with the Tarrentines, an unfriendly tribe, dwelling beyond the Penobscot; with this exception, nothing seems to have arisen to disturb the relations of the colonists with their uncivilized neighbors.

The only member of the Plymouth Company who seems to have remained undiscouraged and unmoved by the breaking up of this colony and the unfavorable reports of the country, was Sir Ferdinando Gorges. While he regretted, as he says, the loss of so noble a friend as the Chief Justice, and his nation so worthy a subject, he refused to be influenced by the idle stories of the cold being so extreme as to render the

country unsuitable for settlement and cultivation. "As for the coldness of the clime," said he, "I had had too much experience in the world to be frighted with such a blast, as knowing many great kingdoms and large territories more northerly seated, and by many degrees colder than the clime from whence they came, yet plentifully inhabited, and divers of them stored with no better commodities from trade and commerce than those parts afforded, if like industry, art and labor be used." But the good sense of the worthy knight was not capable of reanimating the drooping energies of the Plymouth Company. "There was no more speech of settling any other plantation in those parts for a long time after," say the Company in their Relation published at a subsequent period; "only," they add, "Sir Francis Popham having the ships and provision which remained of the company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the coasts for trade and fishing; of whose loss or gains himself is best able to give account."

Sir Ferdinando pursued a similar course of private adventure, at the same time keeping in view his great object, the settlement of the country; "finding," he says, "I could no longer be seconded by others, I became an owner of a ship myself, fit for that employment, and under color of fishing and trade, I got a master and company for her, to which I sent Vines and others my own servants with their provision for trade and discovery. By these and the help of those natives formerly sent over, I came to be truly informed of so much as gave me assurance that in time I should want no undertakers, though as yet I was forced to

hire men to stay there the winter quarter at extreme rates."

This state of things continued until the year 1614, when Captain John Smith, who had been governor of the colony in South Virginia, but had retired in disgust from its service, turned his attention to the north. "I desired to see this country," he said, "and spend some time in trying what I could find for all those ill rumors and disasters." Having induced four London merchants to join him in the enterprise, he set sail on the third of March from the Downs, with two ships and forty-five men and boys, taking with him also an Indian named Tantum, and after a voyage of eight weeks arrived at the island of Monhegan. Here he built seven boats, in which he sent all but eight of his men on a fishing voyage, while with the remainder he embarked in a small boat, and with his accustomed energy ranged the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, exploring all its inlets, rivers and bays, and trafficking with the Indians. The commercial results of this voyage must have fully satisfied the most sanguine expectations of his partners in the enterprise; for in his small boat, in exchange for trifling articles of little value, he obtained nearly 11,000 beaver skins, 100 martens, and as many otters, and the most of them, he says, within the distance of twenty leagues. His fishing was not equally successful, as he had lost the best of the season in the vain pursuit of whales; but his men took and dried about 1,200 quintals of fish, which sold in Spain for five dollars per quintal.

On his return to England, after an absence of about six months, Captain Smith made a highly favorable

report of the country, to which he gave the name of NEW ENGLAND. Having prepared a written description of his discoveries, together with a map of the coast, he presented them to Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I., "humbly entreating his Highness," he says, "to change their barbarous names for such English as posterity might say "Prince Charles was their godfather." The Prince complied with this request, confirming the name of New England, and substituting English names for those which had been derived from the Indians, or that had been given by former navigators. This experiment, however, proved in the main unsuccessful, as it deserved to be; the names of Plymouth, Charles River, and Cape Ann, being the only ones recommended by Charles that have been sanctioned by general use; while the names of Massachusetts, Piscataqua, Agamenticus, Saco, Casco, Androscoggin, Kennebeck, Pemaquid, Penobscot, Monhegan, Matinicus, and others, of Indian origin, are still retained.

The success of this voyage in regard to its pecuniary returns, and the favorable report of the country, infused new life into the spirit of colonial enterprise. Gorges took the lead as usual, and in conjunction with Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, and other western gentlemen, concerted the plan of a colony to be conducted by Capt. Smith to New England the following year. Smith also endeavored to interest the London merchants in this project, because, he remarks, "the Londoners have most money;" but he preferred sailing from a western port, as he says it is nearly as much trouble, but much more danger, to sail from London to Plymouth, than from Plymouth to Newfound-

land.* His plan was that the expedition should consist of eight ships, four from London and the same number from the west of England; but in this he proved unsuccessful, such was the jealousy of interest among them. He finally sailed from Plymouth in March, 1615, with only two vessels, one of 200 tons, the other of 50; besides his ships' company, he was attended by fifteen men and two boys, who had agreed to remain in New England, and begin a plantation. Smith gives the names of these persons, and adds, "I confess I would have wished them as many thousands, had all other provisions been in like proportion, nor would I have had so few, could I have had means for more; yet if God had pleased we had safely arrived, I doubted not but to have performed more than I promised, and that many thousands had been there ere now."

With the knowledge we possess of the resolute and persevering character of this dauntless and excellent man, as previously exhibited in the Virginia Colony, and on other occasions, we have little doubt as to the success of his efforts to colonize New England, had he been permitted to reach its shores with his little band of emigrants; but a series of cruel and almost unparalleled disasters awaited him on the ocean. The vessels had proceeded 120 leagues to sea, when they were overtaken by a gale that carried away all the masts of the larger ship, which was compelled to return to Plymouth under jurymasts, the other vessel at the same time parting company. Not discouraged by this acci-

*To one familiar with the intricate and dangerous navigation of the river Thames and the English Channel, this remark would scarcely seem an exaggeration.

dent, Smith again set sail on the 24th of June in another ship of only sixty tons; but disasters still awaited him. Falling in with an English piratical craft of vastly superior force, Smith refused to yield to the entreaties of his officers who wished him to surrender without striking a blow; but assuming a bold attitude he succeeded in making terms with the enemy, and was permitted to continue his voyage.

Soon after he again fell in with two French pirates, also of greatly superior force; his officers refusing to fight, Smith threatened to blow up his ship rather than yield. He then opened his four guns upon the enemy, and under the fire effected his escape. But his next encounter proved fatal to his voyage and all his plans. Four French men of war made the odds too great for his little bark, and being summoned on board the Admiral's ship to show his papers, he obeyed; but although peace existed between England and France at that time, the French commander detained him, and took possession of his ship, which was then plundered by the French sailors, and his men dispersed about their squadron, now increased to eight or nine sail. At length these freebooters consented to restore his ship and men; but after regaining possession, a dispute arose as to continuing the voyage, a portion of the officers and men being disposed to put back to Plymouth, but Smith and the rest were resolved to proceed. In the meantime, he was again summoned on board the French admiral's ship, and had no sooner reached the quarter deck, than a sail hove in sight to which the Frenchman gave chase. Thus was he unfortunately separated from his command, of which the disaffected part of his officers and men took advan-

tage during the night, and directed the ship's course to Plymouth, where they arrived in safety.

The French fleet continued to cruise for two months, for the purpose of intercepting vessels from the West Indies, of which they made several captures. When they encountered Spanish vessels, Smith was compelled to take part in the actions, and give them the benefit of his military skill and experience; but when the prey was English, he was kept carefully out of the way, and not allowed to come in contact with his countrymen. On their arrival upon the French coast near Rochelle, instead of fulfilling their promise to make him double amends for his losses, to the amount of 10,000 crowns of prize money, they kept him a prisoner on board the ship, and threatened him with further mischief unless he gave them a full discharge before the Admiralty. A storm coming on, Smith watched his opportunity and escaped in a boat during the darkness of the night; but the current took the boat out to sea instead of enabling him to reach the shore. The wind and tide, however, changing during the night, the boat at length drifted upon a small island, where he was found in the morning by some fowlers, nearly drowned, and half dead with cold and hunger.

Pawning his boat for means to reach Rochelle, he was informed on his arrival at that place, that on the night of his escape the man of war with her richest prize had foundered, and the captain and half of the ship's company were lost. At Rochelle, Smith sought justice in a court of admiralty, libelling the goods saved from the wreck of the man of war; and having collected from the survivors the fullest evidence of the

losses to which he had been subjected, he left his case in charge of Sir Thomas Edmonds, the British minister at Bordeaux, and returned to England.

Such was the eventful and disastrous issue of the second attempt to colonize New England. Yet it was not without its good results. While detained on board the French ship, Smith found time to write out his previous adventures in New England, with a description of the country which was the most complete and satisfactory that had been yet submitted to the public. This work was published in June, 1616, and contained his original map of New England, with the English names suggested by Prince Charles. He printed an edition of two or three thousand, he says, and spent the summer of 1616, in visiting all the larger towns in the west of England, and distributing copies of this book and map. He also caused one thousand copies to be bound up with a great variety of maps, both of Virginia and New England, which he presented to thirty of the principal companies in London, at their Halls. Nearly a year was spent by him in this way, with the hope of inducing another effort to plant the wilderness of New England; but all his labors proved ineffectual, and he was compelled to abandon the project with the loss of the time and money he had expended upon it. There is no doubt, however, that the knowledge Smith diffused, did in the end advance the settlement of the country; and as an acknowledgment of the value of his services, the Plymouth Company bestowed on him the title of Admiral of New England.

The unremitted exertions of Sir Ferdinando Gorges were now directed to the formation of a new com-

pany distinct from that of Virginia, whose attention should be exclusively devoted to the colonization of New England. A liberal charter was granted to this company by the sole authority of the king, constituting them a corporation with perpetual succession, by the name of "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England in America." It consisted of forty noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, among whom were the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, and others scarcely less distinguished in the history of that period. The charter bears date November 3d, 1620; and as it conveyed to the Council the territory extending from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, one half of which was comprised in the previous patent to the Virginia company, objections were made to it at the outset from that quarter. Not succeeding with the king and the Privy Council, the complainants carried the matter before the House of Commons, and Gorges appeared three several times at the bar of the house to answer objections; on the last occasion he was attended by eminent legal counsel. The result was unfavorable, and the house in presenting to the king the public grievances of the kingdom, included amongst them the patent of New England. The effect of this movement was at first prejudicial to the company, for it was the means of discouraging those who proposed to establish plantations in this quarter, as well as some of the Council. But James was not inclined to have the propriety of his own acts disputed or denied on the floor of Parliament; so that instead of carrying out the design of destroy-

ing the Patent, he dismissed the Parliament, and committed to the Tower and other prisons the members who had been most forward in condemning the charter, and most free in questioning the prerogative of the Crown.

This charter to the Council of Plymouth was the next great step towards the colonization of New England, as it was the foundation of all the grants that were made of the country upon which titles to land now rest. One of the first of these was in favor of the Pilgrims then settled at Plymouth. They had previously obtained a patent from the old Plymouth Company, which had been taken to Holland for their inspection before their departure; but this not answering their purpose, they applied to the Council of Plymouth for another after their removal to New England. Gorges gives the following account of the matter:— "After they had well considered the state of their affairs, and found that the authority they had from the Company of Virginia could not warrant their abode in that place, which they found so prosperous and pleasing to them, they hastened away their ship with order to their solicitor to deal with me, to be the means that they might have a grant from the Council of New England's Affairs to settle in the place; which was accordingly performed to their particular satisfaction and the good content of them all; which place was after called New Plymouth, where they have continued ever since very peaceable, and in all plenty of all necessaries that nature needeth, if that could satisfy our vain affections." Such was the liberal spirit of this worthy man, that although differing in his religious notions *toto cælo* from the pilgrim fathers, he yet looked with

evident satisfaction upon the comfortable quarters they had made for themselves within the limits of the Council's Patent, although without having secured a proper title to their lands; and it seems he did not hesitate to aid them in supplying this deficiency.*

*The Pilgrims after their settlement at Plymouth found themselves without a legal title to the soil; hence their application to the Council for a patent, which was granted in the name of John Pierce, a London merchant, who held it in trust for them. It was dated June 1st, 1621. But not satisfied with this, they procured another, in the name of William Bradford, through the influence of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the Earl of Warwick, dated January 13th, 1630, on which their title finally rested. The Pierce patent simply granted to him and his associates, (without naming them,) one hundred acres of land for each person, if they should continue three years in the country; the land to be taken in any place not already inhabited by English people or selected by the Council for other purposes. But the Bradford patent contained a general grant of the territory of the Colony, with specific boundaries, constituting a separate jurisdiction, that existed until the union with Massachusetts in 1691. This patent likewise conveyed to Bradford and his associates an extensive territory lying on both sides of the Kennebec, and an exclusive right to the trade on that river; a very liberal concession. The colony at that time contained, as the patent recites, about three hundred people.

It is a curious fact that the Old Colony of Plymouth came near being annexed to New York, instead of Massachusetts, in 1691. A strenuous opposition was made by the agent of Plymouth, in London, to the connexion with Massachusetts, which seems to have arisen from a feeling of jealousy towards the sister colony. "All the frame of heaven," he says, "moves upon one axis, and the whole of New England's interest seems designed to be loaden on one bottom, and her particular motions to be concentric to the Massachusetts tropic; you know who are wont to trot after the *bay* horse," &c. To such length was this opposition carried, that when the commission of Governor Sloughter was made out for the government of New York, Plymouth was actually included in it; but it was afterwards changed to meet the views of the Massachusetts agent. Some disturbances that arose in two or three towns of the Old Colony about the same time, were attributed by the authorities at Plymouth to the influence of Sloughter, who, however, had enough on his hands, during the three or four months that intervened between his arrival at New York, and his death, without intermeddling with the affiairs of a distant Colony. See DAVIS, in Appendix to Morton's Memorial. pp. 361-3. Ibid. 473-5. 1 Hazard, State Papers, 298. Prince. 198. note.

The attention of the Council was soon directed to the importance of establishing a general government over their extensive territory, as complaints were made by those who visited the country of disorders committed on the coast, which there was no power competent to restrain or punish. Having determined on the appointment of a Governor to superintend their affairs in the country, Robert Gorges, Esq., a son of Sir Ferdinando, was selected for this office, with whom was joined a board of counsellors, one of whom was to be the Governor for the time being of the Plymouth colony. An extensive grant of territory was made at the same time to Robert Gorges, containing three hundred square miles, on Massachusetts Bay, which he proceeded at once to occupy. He arrived in the Bay about the beginning of the autumn of 1623, "with sundry passengers and families," and gave immediate notice of his arrival to the government of Plymouth. "He had a commission from the Council of New England," says Bradford, who was then Governor of Plymouth, and entitled by virtue of that office to be one of his Council, "to be general Governor of the country; and they appoint for his council and assistants, Capt. West, [who had been previously commissioned as Admiral of New England,] Christopher Levett, Esq., and the Governor of Plymouth for the time being; giving him authority to choose others as he should find fit; with full power to him and his assistants, or any three of them, (whereof himself was always to be one,) to do and execute what to them should seem good in all cases, capital, criminal, and civil, with divers other instructions, of which and his commission it pleased

him to offer the Governor of Plymouth to take a copy. He gave us notice of his arrival by letter, and before we could visit him sails for the eastward with the ship he came in; but a storm rising, they bore into our harbor, are kindly entertained, and stay fourteen days." He adds, "Shortly after, Governor Gorges goes to the Massachusetts by land, being thankful for his kind entertainment. His ship staying here, fits for Virginia, having some passengers to deliver there."

The place selected by the Governor General for the residence of the families that had accompanied him, is situated on a branch of what is now called Boston Bay, then known as Massachusetts Bay, in the present town of Weymouth, about twelve miles south of the city of Boston. The same place had been settled the year previous by a band of English emigrants under the auspices of a London merchant, named Weston, who had provided them with all the necessary supplies for establishing a plantation. The same gentleman had been chiefly instrumental in supplying the Plymouth colonists with the means of transportation to New England, but had undertaken this neighboring settlement with a view to his private advantage. He employed several vessels in trade and fishing on the coast, and the men who formed the settlement, had been chosen as suitable for the furtherance of his designs, which were purely of a mercantile character.* But owing to various causes, this settlement was broken up in less than a year from the time it had been commenced, and when Gorges arrived at the same place, with a considerable reinforcement of

*Morton, New English Canaan, p. 106.

men and supplies, Weston's people seem to have wholly disappeared.

While Gorges was enjoying the hospitality of the Pilgrims, Mr. Weston arrived there to look after his affairs, when the Governor General called him to account for the disorderly conduct of his men, who had scandalized the country by their riotous behavior; but as that gentleman had been a great sufferer from the abuses that had been committed in his absence, by the waste of his property and the frustration of his plans, the matter was soon compromised, and Gorges embarked in one of his ships for the eastward. He entered the mouth of the Piscataqua, and visited the plantation of Mr. David Thompson, where he met Christopher Levett, Esq., one of his Counsellors, who had just arrived from England. The Governor there administered to Levett the oath of office in the presence of three more of the Council, and thus duly organized his government.

The Council of Plymouth, in providing for the proper administration of affairs in New England, did not forget the religious interests of the country. They sent over with the governor a clergyman of the church of England, the Rev. William Morell, for the purpose of superintending the establishment of churches, and probably to counteract the efforts of the Puritans for the spread of their peculiar views. He remained about two years, chiefly at Plymouth, where his discreet deportment seems to have conciliated the good will of the colonists; indeed, such was the condition of the country, that he did not undertake to execute his ministerial functions, nor was it known in the colony that he had an ecclesiastical commission to oversee

their religious concerns, until he was about going away, when he spoke of it to some of the people. During his abode in the country, Mr. Morrell composed a Latin poem, descriptive of the natural features of New England, which he dedicated to Charles I. and published, together with an English translation, after his return.* The following are the introductory lines;

NOVA ANGLIA.

Hactenus ignotam populis ego carmine primus,
Te nova de veteri cui contigit Anglia nomen,
Aggredior trepidus pingui celebrare Minerva.
Fer mihi numen opem, cupienti singula plectro
Pandere veridico, quæ nuper vidimus ipsi ;
Ut breviter vereque sonent modulamina nostra,
Temperiem cœli, vim terræ, munera ponti,
Et varios gentis mores, velamina, cultus.

The author's translation:

NEW ENGLAND.

"Fear not, poor Muse, cause first to sing her fame
That's yet scarce known unless by map or name ;
A grandchild to earth's paradise is born,
Well limbed, well nerv'd, fair, rich, sweet, yet forlorn.
Thou blest director! so direct my verse,
That it may win her people, friends, commerce ;

*"Morrell, the clergyman who accompanied Gorges, notwithstanding his disappointment, conceived a very favorable opinion of New England, which he expressed in an elegant Latin poem, descriptive of the country." Grahame, Hist. U. S. I. 202. It may be found reprinted in vol. I. Mass. Hist. Coll. Grahame alludes to the well known lines in Hudibras, founded on an occurrence in Weston's colony, where an innocent but bed-rid weaver was said to have been hung instead of a guilty but useful cobbler, whom they could not so well spare. In clearing the pilgrims of this charge, Grahame, with equal disregard of truth, endeavors to fasten it upon the administration of Gorges. Ibid.

Whilst her sweet air, rich soil, blest seas, my pen
Shall blaze, and tell the natures of her men."

The poem concludes with an appeal to the English people in behalf of the country:

"If these poor lines may win this country love,
Or kind compassion in the English move—
Persuade our mighty and renowned state
This pur-blind people to commiserate ;
Or painful men to this good land invite,
Whose holy works these natives may inlight :
If Heaven grant these, to see here built I trust,
AN ENGLISH KINGDOM FROM THIS INDIAN DUST !"

Gorges remained in the country until the spring of 1624, when he returned to England, discouraged by not receiving promised succor from home for his colony, and perhaps, as Bradford says, "not finding the state of things to answer his quality." A portion of his people remained, and were kindly assisted with supplies from Plymouth; but most of them went either to Virginia or England. He was the oldest son of Sir Ferdinando, and had married a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. He died not long after his return, and was succeeded in his patent of lands on Massachusetts Bay by his brother John, who conveyed the same to General Sir William Brereton, Bart., in 1629; the latter is said to have sent over a number of families and servants, who possessed and improved several large tracts of land comprised in this patent.*

*This fact is derived from a MS. document recently discovered by Rev. Mr. Felt, of Boston, in his indefatigable researches and labors to arrange the ancient archives of Massachusetts.

One of the counsellors of Governor Gorges, Christopher Levett, Esq., soon after his return to England, published an account of his voyage, from which it appears that he first arrived at the Isles of Shoals, and passed a month at the plantation of Mr. Thomson, at Piscataqua.* Being there joined by his men, who had come over in several ships, he left that place in the autumn of 1623, with two boats, to explore the eastern coast for the purpose of selecting a suitable place to form a settlement. He landed in the course of his expedition at various points along the coast until he reached what he calls Capemanwagen, now probably Cape Newagen, a few miles east of the mouth of the Kennebec, where he says nine ships were engaged in fishing during that year. Here he remained four nights, "in which time," he says, "there came many savages with the wives and children, and some of good account among them;" of the latter description he mentions a sagamore named Somerset, "one that hath been found very faithful to the English, and hath saved the lives of many of our nation, some from starving, others from killing [being killed.]"

Levett states, that when he was about to depart from this place, the Indians enquired where he intended to establish his plantation; he answered, that he intended to examine the coast farther to the east before making a decision. Thereupon they assured him

*Thomson afterwards (about 1626) removed to an island in Boston harbor, still known by his name. See Christian Examiner, Sept. 1846. p. 282. Art. *Young's Mass. Chronicles.* The settlement at Piscataqua, one of the first in New Hampshire, was not, however, abandoned, as stated by Young, (Chron. Mass. 21,) for it was assessed for certain expenses equally with Plymouth in 1628. 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. 63.

there was no suitable place left for him in that quarter, as Pemaquid and Monhegan, as well as Capemanwagen, had been already granted to others. Thus discouraged from pursuing his voyage, Levett accepted an invitation from the sagamore of Casco to accompany him and his wife on their return to Casco Bay; where they assured him he should be made welcome to as much land as he desired. Accordingly the next day he sailed, he says, "with the king, queen, and prince, bow and arrows, dog and kettle in my boat, his noble attendants rowing by us in their canoes." Selecting a place for his plantation, he gave it the name of York; it had been the property of "the queen's father, who left it to her at his death, having no more children." "And thus," he adds, "after many dangers, much labor, and great charge, I have obtained a place of habitation in New England, where I have built a house, and fortified it in a reasonable good fashion, strong enough against such enemies as are these savage people."

The rarity of Levett's book is probably the reason that this voyage has not been heretofore noticed by any of our writers.* What afterwards became of him, or his settlement, may be an interesting subject of enquiry. His narrative is valuable as showing the condition of the coast of Maine at the date of his voyage; he mentions no English settlement after leav-

*It is entitled, "A Voyage into New England, begun in 1623, and ended in 1624. Performed by Christopher Levett, His Majesty's Woodward of Somersetshire, and one of the Council of New England. Printed at London, &c. 1628." A transcript was procured by Mr. Sparks from a copy in England, and recently printed in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. 28. A copy of the original edition belongs to the New York Hist. Society, from which it is proposed to be reprinted in the new volume of the Maine Historical Collections.

ing Piscatqua, although the Indians informed him that Pemaquid, Cape Newagen, and Monhegan, had been granted to others. Sir Ferdinando Gorges had a plantation at that period on the island of Monhegan,* which had long been a place of resort for vessels engaged in fishing on the coast. The other places named were also used by fishermen for curing their fish on 'stages' erected by them, and gradually increased into considerable settlements. There is extant a deed from Somerset, the sagamore mentioned by Levett as particularly friendly to the English, and another, to one John Brown of New Harbor, on Pemaquid Point, covering a large tract of land in that quarter, dated July 15th, 1625. The next year, 1626, two eminent merchants of the city of Bristol, who had been long concerned in voyages to this coast, Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge, sent over Mr. Abraham Short to take possession of the island of Monhegan, which they purchased at this time; Short remained in the country, as the agent of those gentlemen, who soon after obtained a patent of lands at Pemaquid from the Council of Plymouth, and established a flourishing colony at that place, where may still be found descendants of these early colonists, in possession of the allotments of lands made to their ancestors under this patent.

Robert Aldworth, one of these patentees, is still remembered at Bristol, for his public spirit and munificent charities; for many years he was one of the aldermen of the city, and took a prominent part in its affairs. A splendid monument in St. Peter's Church,

*Prince. 127.

near the altar, perpetuates his memory. "He is entitled," says a writer of that city, "to distinguished notice as a merchant of the first rank of the age in which he lived."* He was born in 1551, and died in 1634. Having no issue, he bequeathed all his estate to Giles Elbridge, Esq., his co-patentee at Pemaquid, and also a merchant of Bristol, who had married his niece. The town of Bristol, comprising a portion of old Pemaquid, commemorates by its name the origin of its early settlement and of many of its inhabitants.

The charter of the Council of Plymouth, as has been already remarked, laid the foundation of all grants of land in New England; but the geographical features of the country were but little understood by the members of the Council, and great confusion consequently ensued in their conveyances. Of all the forty noblemen, knights and esquires named in that instrument, only one, Raleigh Gilbert, had been on this side of the water. The rivers had not been explored far beyond their mouths, and nothing was known of the interior of the country except from the uncertain and indistinct accounts of the Indians. It is not strange, therefore, that much perplexity and embarrassment arose upon the actual settlement of so large a territory, under grants made in England by those who had never seen any portion of it. Dr. Belknap well remarks, that "either from the jarring interests of the members, or their indistinct knowledge of the country, or their inattention to business, or some other cause which does not fully appear, their affairs were

*This monument was repaired and embellished as recently as 1807, at the expense of a lady. *Corry*. Hist. Bristol, vol. 2. p. 258.

transacted in a confused manner from the beginning; and the grants which they made were so inaccurately described, and interfered so much with each other, as to occasion difficulties and controversies, some of which are not yet ended."

No part of New England has suffered more from this cause than Maine, even at last to a complete denial of the title of its proprietary by a neighboring colony. The first grant by the Council that included any portion of this State, seems to have been the patent of Laconia, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, in 1622. This comprised "all the lands situated between the rivers Merrimack and Sagadehock, extending back to the great lakes and the river of Canada;" and was intended to embrace a region in the vicinity of the lakes, of which highly colored and romantic descriptions had been given. Both of the patentees acted under this patent, although many subsequent grants of the Council were made within the same limits. The first settlements in New Hampshire, and perhaps in this State, on the banks of the Piscataqua, were made under it. After seven years joint title, Mason, November 7th, 1629, took out a separate patent of that portion lying south and west of the Piscataqua, to which he gave the name of New Hampshire, being at that time Governor of Portsmouth in Hampshire, England.* The remaining portion became the exclusive property of Gorges, who, however, had no separate title until 1635, when he gave the territory between the Piscataqua and Kennebec the name of NEW SOMERSETSHIRE, in compliment to his

*2 Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc., 273

native county; and soon after sent over his kinsman, Capt. William Gorges as Governor, with commissions to several gentlemen residing there, as Counsellors of the new Province. This was the first general jurisdiction (1636) established in this State. A portion of the records of New Somersetshire have been preserved, from which it appears that a court was held by the Governor and Commissioners at Saco, in March, 1636, and at subsequent dates.

Gorges now flattered himself that his long cherished hopes were about to be realized by the speedy settlement of the country, in which he had taken so deep an interest. He had as yet experienced little else than trouble and disappointment, the only return for years of labor and many thousand pounds of expense. Before the date of his separate grant from the Council, settlements had been made at many different points within his limits, and there was an encouraging prospect for the future. The flourishing condition of the colonies of New Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, had the effect of directing a greater share of public attention towards New England, and those who did not harmonize with the religious views of the Puritans, sought new abodes under the more tolerant sway of the lord proprietor.

When the Council of Plymouth resigned their charter, in 1635, the resignation was accompanied by a petition to the king for the establishment of a general government in New England, and Sir Ferdinando, then about three score years of age, was nominated to be the General Governor. The design received the approbation of Charles and his privy council, by whom an order was issued, establishing the new govern-

ment, and appointing Gorges to the office of Governor over New England; but the troubles at home, both in England and Scotland, prevented the completion of the scheme, which had excited the fears of the Puritan colonists to a most intense degree. The death of Mason, who had been a most active promoter of this plan of a general government, occurred at this period, and was another cause of its abandonment. Governor Winthrop has the following notice of this event in his journal: — "1636. The last winter Captain Mason died. He was the chief mover in all attempts against us; and was to have sent the General Governor; and for this end was providing ships. But the Lord, *in mercy*, taking him away, all the business fell asleep."

In the Journal of Richard Mather, grand-father of Cotton Mather, under the date of May 27th, 1635, there is an interesting notice of a visit paid by Sir Ferdinando Gorges to a ship then lying at Bristol, in which a number of Puritans were about embarking for New England.* At that time there was a great probability of Sir Ferdinando's going over as General Governor of the New England Colonies, to which he evidently alludes in his conversation with one of the passengers. The passage is as follows: — "When we came there, we found divers passengers, and among them some lovely and godly Christians, that were glad to see us there. And soon after we came on board, there came three or four boats with more passengers, and one wherein came Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who came to see the ship and the people. When he was

*This journal has been recently published for the first time, by Dr. Young, in his valuable collection of documents relating to Massachusetts.

come, he inquired whether there were any people there that went to Massachusetts Bay. Whereupon Mr. Maud and Barnabas Fower were sent for to come before him. Who being come, he asked Mr. Maud of his country, occupation, or calling of life, &c., and professed his good will to the people there in the Bay, and promised that if ever he came there, he would be a true friend unto them."

The truth is, an unreasonable jealousy existed towards Sir Ferdinando, on the part of the leading colonists in Massachusetts, that was not justified by the character of that distinguished patron of New England, or by his conduct in reference to the Puritan emigrants. The active part he had taken from the beginning, when the country first came into notice, through a period of more than thirty years, in all measures for encouraging its settlement, and promoting its prosperity, is sufficient evidence of the sincere interest he took in the welfare of New England. To him the Puritans, both of Plymouth and Massachusetts, were in the main indebted for their charters, and the former deserve the credit of having made a grateful acknowledgment of his kindness, and of the services he had rendered the country.* But in the sister colony it was otherwise; his name was seldom mentioned there without symptoms of fear or distrust. The real cause of this unfriendly feeling towards Sir Ferdinando Gorges may, perhaps, be traced to his

*Thus in a letter to him from Governor Bradford and others, in 1628, they say, —"Honorable Sir: As you have ever been, not only a favorer, but also a most special beginner and furtherer of the good of this country, to your great cost and no less honor, we whose names are underwritten, being some of every plantation in the land, deputed for the rest do humbly crave your Worship's help and best assistance," &c. 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. 63.

prominent position as a member of the Council of Plymouth; the just claims of his family to lands on Massachusetts Bay, by a grant prior to that of the colony; and the disgust excited in England among the friends of the established Church, as well as persons of moderation generally, by the intolerance and fanaticism displayed in some of the first political acts of the Massachusetts Company after their removal to New England.* Sharing the common feeling in England, Gorges was in a situation to exert a powerful influence, if he chose, in opposition to the interests of the colony; but he uniformly befriended them, until persons suspected of being in his interest were imprisoned, or ignominiously thrust out of the country, as in the case of Sir Christopher Gardiner, who under the pretence of his "having two wives in

*Gorges, in his description of New England, after stating that there were several sorts of persons who did not altogether agree among themselves, yet all were disaffected towards Episcopal jurisdiction, adds — "Some of the discreeter sort, to avoid what they found themselves subject unto, made use of their friends to procure from the Council for the Affairs of New England to settle a colony within their limits; to which it pleased the thrice honored Earl of Warwick to write to me, then at Plymouth, to condescend that a Patent might be granted to such as then sued for it. Whereupon I gave my approbation so far forth as it might not be prejudicial to my son Robert Gorges' interest, whereof he had a Patent under the seal of the Council. Hereupon there was a grant passed, as was thought reasonable [the Mass. Patent]; but the same was after enlarged by his Majesty, and confirmed under the great seal of England; by the authority whereof the undertakers proceeded so effectually, that in a very short time numbers of people of all sorts flocked thither in heaps, that at last it was specially ordered by the king's command, that none should be suffered to go without license first had and obtained, and they to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance. So that what I had long before prophesied, when I could hardly get any for money to reside there, was now brought to pass. The reason of that restraint was grounded upon the several complaints that came out of those parts of the divers sects and schisms that were amongst them, all contemning the public government of the ecclesiastical state. And it was doubted that they would, in short time, wholly shake off the royal jurisdiction of the sovereign state."

England," was arrested while travelling among the Indians, and finally brought back to Boston, where he was thrown into prison. It is now admitted that nothing criminal was proved against him;* but when the authorities of Massachusetts opened his letters, which had been sent to Boston, one was found to be from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "who," says the governor, "claims a great part of the bay of Massachusetts;" and "it appeared," he adds, "from his letters that he had some secret design to recover his pretended right, and that he reposed much trust in Sir Christopher Gardiner."

The case of Thomas Morton was one of, perhaps, less undeserved rigor, though cruel and oppressive; and it is not strange that both he and Gardiner, on their return to England, should have blazoned the outrages that had been heaped upon them, and turned the benevolent mind of even Gorges himself against his favorite New England. Yet writing at a later period, the worthy knight exonerates many of the colonists from the charge of fanaticism, as well as from the guilt of a treasonable disposition towards the king's government; "doubtless," he says, "had not the patience and wisdom of Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Humphreys, Mr. Dudley, and others their assistants, been the greater, much mischief would suddenly have overwhelmed them, more than did befall them. Notwithstanding, amongst those great swarms there went many that wanted not love and affection to the honor of the king, and happiness of their native country."

*Davis in Morton's Mem. 165. See also the sensible remarks of Savage, ed. Winthrop's Journal. I. 54. 57. Young is less judicious. Chron. Mass. 334.

Being at length called upon personally by the government, as the author and supporter of the obnoxious proceedings in New England, he found it difficult to avoid the imputations that were raised against him on account of his agency in these matters; and that he might no longer suffer this reproach, he counselled and urged upon the Council the expediency of surrendering their charter to the crown; which was accordingly done, on the 25th of April, 1635. It thus appears that while Sir Ferdinando was an object of suspicion and distrust in Massachusetts, he was compelled to suffer imputations of an offensive character at home, on account of the support he gave to the fanatics and traitors of which that colony was believed to consist.

The next event of general interest in the history of the State, is the confirmation of the patent from the Council of Plymouth to Gorges by a new charter from the Crown, in which the territory is first styled the PROVINCE OF MAINE,* of which he was made Lord Palatine, with the same powers and privileges as the Bishop of Durham, in the County Palatine of Durham. This charter conferred upon the venerable knight a high degree of feudal authority, and he immediately proceeded to reorganize his jurisdiction in the province by the appointment of a new board of Commis-

*Sullivan, Hist. Maine, p. 307, says that "the territory was called the Province by way of a compliment to the queen of Charles I, who was a daughter of France, and owned as her private estate a province there, called the Province of Meyne," &c. Such is the prevailing impression as to the origin of the name finally given by Gorges to his province, but unfortunately for its accuracy, the province of Maine in France did not appertain to Queen Henrietta Maria, but to the crown; nor is it discoverable that she possessed any interest in that province. The biography of this queen recently published by Miss Strickland, is a work of intense interest, and apparently drawn from original and authentic sources.

sioners, at the head of whom he first placed Sir Thomas Josselyn, but that gentleman not coming over, he substituted in his place his truly and well beloved cousin, Thomas Gorges, Esq., who arrived at Boston in the summer of 1640. Governor Winthrop speaks of him as "a young gentleman of the Inns of Court; * * * sober and well disposed; he staid a few days at Boston, and was very careful to take advice of our magistrates how to manage his affairs." He took up his residence at Agamenticus, which was now incorporated into a city, by the name of Gorgeana, with a mayor and recorder, and seven aldermen.* At this place also it was ordained by the charter that Wednesday in every week should be market day, and that there should be two fairs held every year, viz., upon the feast days of St. James and St. Paul.

The plan of government for the Province was based upon the Saxon forms existing in England, and as old as the days of king Alfred. The province was to be divided into eight counties, and these into sixteen hundreds; the hundreds to be subdivded into parishes and tythings, as the people should increase. In the absence of the Lord Proprietor, a Lieutenant was to preside. A chancellor for the hearing of civil causes; a treasurer to receive the revenue; a marshal for the command of the militia; a marshal's court for criminal matters; an admiral and court of admiralty for maritime cases; a master of ordnance, and a secretary; were severally constituted. These officers were to be a standing council, together with eight deputies to be elected by the people, one for

*On Smith's map this place is named *Boston*, at the instance of Prince Charles.

each county. One lieutenant and eight justices were allowed to each county; two head-constables to every hundred; one constable and four tythingmen to every parish; each tythingman to give an account of the demeanor of the families within his tything to the constable of the parish, who was to render the same to the head constables of the hundred, and they to the lieutenant and justices of the county, who were to take cognizance of all misdemeanors; and from them an appeal lay to the governor and council.

Such was the system of government Gorges designed to introduce into his province of Maine; but it is hardly necessary to say that it was not fully carried into effect. The civil war in England withdrew the attention of the Lord Proprietor from his own private affairs; the governor was called home, and in the distractions of the times, the colony of Massachusetts Bay undertook to set up a title to the greater part of the Province, under color of which they took possession of it, and excluded the heirs of Gorges from the exercise of their rights. Maine was thus summarily annexed to Massachusetts Bay, but not without a spirited resistance on the part of the authorities of the province, and most of the inhabitants.

The pretext for this usurpation was found in the terms of the Massachusetts patent, which established the northern boundary on a line three miles north of the river Merrimac, and the southern three miles south of Charles river, the intermediate space being taken for the breadth of the grant. But when it subsequently appeared that the course of the Merrimac changed at a certain distance from the sea, and that its head-waters were situated far to the north, the old

limits were abandoned, and a new line drawn for the northern boundary of the patent, beginning at a point three miles north of the head waters of the river, and so running easterly to the sea. Both New Hampshire and the greater part of Maine were found by this construction to be within the bounds of the Massachusetts patent.

The New Hampshire towns, having been settled chiefly from Massachusetts Bay, were not reluctant to be brought within her jurisdiction;* but it was otherwise with the inhabitants of Maine. Commissioners were sent "to treat with the gentlemen of the eastward," in the language of the Massachusetts Records, in the summer of 1652. Edward Godfrey, of York, was at that time Governor of Maine, and represented the interests of the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was then dead. Called upon by the commissioners of Massachusetts to submit to the authority of that colony, Godfrey resolutely refused, declaring that the bounds of Massachusetts had been determined twenty years ago, since which time many grants had been made in Maine, a sum of £35,000 expended in promoting the settlement of the country, and a lawful jurisdiction exercised, which had been acknowledged by Massachusetts and approved by the English government. "We are resolved," said the Governor,

*The original settlers of New Hampshire, who planted themselves at the mouth of the Piscataqua as early as 1623, under the auspices of Mason and Gorges, were of the Church of England; but after the death of Mason, (1635,) the new settlers were almost entirely non-conformists. Miss Aikin, in her Memoirs of Charles I., recounting what had been done for the colonization of the new world prior to the accession of that monarch, states that "a small band of emigrant Puritans had established themselves in New Hampshire." Vol. 1. p. 29. This statement is without doubt founded on a misapprehension of the character of the settlements in that quarter at the period in question.

"to exercise our just jurisdiction till it shall please the Parliament, the Common Weale of England, otherwise to order, under whose power and protection we are."

Gorges had taken care to encourage the settlement of members of the church of England in his province, and a considerable proportion of the inhabitants were of that faith; hence there was a strong aversion among them to coming under the rule of the Puritans, by this new process of annexation. But this was not all; a deep sense of the flagrant injustice of the claim of Massachusetts to the soil of Maine, after the royal confirmation of the grant to Gorges and his heirs, produced an exasperated state of feeling throughout the Province, and led in many instances to scenes of open violence. As a matter of prudence, however, the towns gradually decided to acquiesce in the change until intelligence could be obtained from the heir of Gorges, and there should be a prospect of offering a successful resistance to such a palpable usurpation. It must be admitted, likewise, that the people were somewhat divided in their feelings, a portion who sympathised with the religious views of the claimants forming a party in their favor. The puritan divines were of course on the side of Massachusetts, and when one of them upon the Lord's day had exhorted the people to be earnest in prayer to the Lord to direct them in respect they were under two forms of government, one of the congregation started up and angrily rebuked him, saying, that he "need not make such a preamble, for they were under the government of Gorges." An Episcopal clergyman, whom the Massachusetts authorities had forbidden to baptize children,

and perform other duties of his sacred office, was presented by a grand jury for expressing his opinion of those in power with too great freedom; in saying "that the Governor of Boston was a rogue, and all the rest thereof traitors and rebels against the king." Such was the excited state of feeling produced by the unjustifiable course of Massachusetts at that period.

On the restoration of Charles II., Ferdinando Gorges, Esq., a grandson of the old Lord Proprietor, sent over his agent with letters from the king to the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, requiring either a restitution of his lawful inheritance, or that they should show reason for the occupation of the Province of Maine. The next step was the appointment of Commissioners by the crown to visit New England, and enquire into all existing grievances. They came into Maine in the summer of 1665, and issued their proclamation, in which they charge the Massachusetts colony with having "refused by the sound of the trumpet to submit to his majesty's authority, looking upon themselves as the supreme power in those parts, contrary to their allegiance and derogatory to his Majesty's sovereignty." They then proceed to appoint a number of gentlemen in the Province, known to be friendly to the claims of Gorges, as magistrates to exercise authority there until his Majesty's pleasure be further known. These were Messrs. Champernon* and Cutts, of Kittery; Rishworth and Johnson, of York; Wheelwright, of Wells; Hook and Phillips, of Saco; Josselyn, of Black Point, now

*Francis Champernon was a relative of Sir W. Raleigh, whose mother was a daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Devonshire.

Scarborough; Jordan, of Richmond's Island; Mounjoy, of Casco, now Portland; and Wincoll, of Newichawanock, afterwards Berwick.

Massachusetts did not long acquiesce in this arrangement; for in July, 1668, four commissioners escorted by a military force entered the Province and proceeded to hold a court at York. The king's magistrates were present and remonstrated, but to no purpose. The account of the matter given by John Josselyn, who was then residing with his brother at Black Point, is, that "as soon as the commissioners were returned from England, the Massachusetts men entered the Province in a hostile manner with a troop of horse and foot, and turned the judge and his assistants off the bench, imprisoned the major or commander of the militia, and threatened the judge and some others that were faithful to Mr. Gorges' interest."*

At length both parties to this exciting controversy appeared by their agents before the king at the palace of Whitehall, and his Majesty, upon a fair hearing of their respective claims, "decided that the Province of Maine was the rightful property of the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, both as to soil and the government." As soon as this decision was known, an agent of Massachusetts made overtures to Mr. Gorges for the purchase of his title, which he finally sold to that colony, in March, 1677, for the sum of £1250 sterling, or about six thousand dollars. This transaction gave great offence to his friends in the Province, who sent a remonstrance to England, but it was too late.

*Josselyn's Two Voyages to New England. p. 198. London, 1675.

Such, however, was the continued opposition to the authority of Massachusetts on the part of the inhabitants, that it became necessary to send an armed force into the Province to awe the people into submission and prevent disturbances.

Maine was now fairly annexed to Massachusetts, not in accordance with the wishes of the people, but by a legal transfer of the soil and government for a valuable consideration; and in the act of taking possession by that colony, the title of Gorges was duly recited; nothing further was heard of its being embraced in their own patent. A separate government was now organized for the Province, at the head of which Thomas Danforth, Esq., of Cambridge, was placed with the title of President of the Province of Maine. This state of things continued without interruption, except during the violent administration of Sir Edmund Andros, until the revolution in England, resulting in the deposition of James II. and the elevation of William and Mary to the throne. A new charter was then received, which united in one province the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, the Province of Maine and the territory east of it to the St. Croix, and Nova Scotia. Sir William Phipps, a native of Maine, arrived at Boston with this charter, on the 14th of May, 1692, at the same time bearing a commission as Governor of the "Province of Massachusetts Bay," — the name given in the new charter to the several jurisdictions united under it.

There are other topics to which I had proposed to call your attention in connexion with a rapid review of the leading events in the early history of this

State; but I have already trespassed too long upon the attention of the society, and shall conclude my remarks with a few words more in reference to the brave old knight who devoted the best part of a long life to efforts for the discovery and settlement of the territory of which this state originally consisted. Little is known of Sir Ferdinando Gorges before he engaged in that great work, but there is no doubt that he early distinguished himself in the public service, and received in reward of his services the honor of knighthood, which like other honors was sparingly bestowed by Queen Elizabeth. The family of Gorges had an ancient seat at Wraxall in Somersetshire, six miles and a half from Bristol; in the church at that place is a large altar tomb, with figures of Sir Edmund Gorges, K. B., and Anne, his wife, daughter of John Howard, the first Duke of Norfolk.* In the same neighborhood, in the parish of Long Ashton was the Manor of Ashton Phillips, belonging to Sir Ferdinando. The village of Long Ashton lies on the southeast slope of an eminence called Ashton Hill, about five miles from Bristol, affording a fine drive from the city, as the road through the parish commands an extensive view of Bristol, Clifton, and a number of villages on the opposite banks of the Avon. In a valley to the southwest of the village is

*They resided at Wraxhall as early as the year 1260, when Ralph de Gorges was governor of Sherburne Castle; "from whose time the family hath been continued there, and is lately [about the year 1700] reduced to an issue-female." *Camden's Britannia*, 2d edition. In 1350, one of the Russels of Gloucestershire, "being enriched," says Camden, "by marriage with an heir of the honorable family of the Gorges, assumed that name." This person was of the family of Russels since raised to the peerage. Lord Edward Gorges, an active member of the Council of Plymouth, and at one time its President, was evidently related to Sir Ferdinando; he was of Wiltshire.

the manor of Ashton Phillips. The manor-house is now in ruins; it seems to have been a structure of considerable extent and grandeur, but only a small portion of the dwelling apartments, and the chapel remain.

As early as 1597, we find him embarked in the expedition of the Earl of Essex against the Spanish islands, in the capacity of Serjeant Major, corresponding to the rank of senior colonel in the army, at the same time holding the office of Governor of the Forts at Plymouth. We next hear of him as a witness on the trial of the Earl of Essex for high treason, in the year 1600. The course taken by Gorges on that occasion must have been deeply painful to his feelings, and has subjected his memory to the reproaches of those writers who were more moved by sympathy for the unhappy fate of that illustrious nobleman, than governed by a strict regard to the circumstances of the case. No one can doubt on reading the accounts of this matter, that the designs of Essex were of a treasonable character, and that relying upon his great popularity, he hoped at least to overawe the queen, and drive his enemies from court. Great discontent prevailed generally among the nobility and gentry, of whom one hundred and twenty were believed to be favorable to the intended movement. In this number Gorges was reckoned, but although disposed to aid that nobleman in all lawful means for counteracting the machinations of his enemies, it does not appear that he countenanced, or was even made acquainted with, any designs against the Queen. When called upon by the government in the course of the trial to state more fully what

had passed between him and the conspirators, he was urged both by Essex and the Earl of Southampton, (who was tried at the same time,) to state fully what he knew of their plans; his reply was:— "Some delivered their minds one way, and some another; but by the oath I have taken, I did never know or hear any thought or purpose of hurt or disloyalty intended to her Majesty's person by my Lord of Essex."

In his testimony in chief he admitted that Essex had written to him, complaining of his misfortunes and expressing a determination to free himself from the malice of his enemies; at the same time requesting Sir Ferdinando to come up to London, that he might confer with him. Gorges accordingly repaired to town, as he states, a week before the insurrection, and had several interviews with the Earl, when he endeavored to dissuade him from his imprudent designs, but all to no purpose. He did not, however, abandon him; on the contrary, he was at Essex-house when the insurrection took place; a large number of the conspirators, including several noblemen, were assembled there, undecided it would seem for a long time as to the course they should pursue. In the meantime, Sir Walter Raleigh, who was regarded by Essex as his greatest enemy, sent a messenger to Gorges at Essex-house, desiring to speak with him on the river; and taking a boat from the garden, which appears to have extended down to the water's edge, beyond the west gate of the city, Sir Ferdinando, with the approbation of Essex, proceeded to meet Sir Walter, who earnestly advised him to withdraw from Essex house, as he valued his life. Raleigh also testified

on the trial, that Gorges assured him it was likely to prove a bloody day's work, and desired him to go to Court that measures might be taken to prevent it. Gorges then returned to Essex house.

In the meantime, the Queen being apprised of the assemblage at Essex house, resorted to an unusual step; for instead of despatching a military force to disperse the conspirators, she sent four distinguished personages, members of the privy council, among whom was Chief Justice Popham, to Essex house to use their personal influence as well as the authority of their offices, to induce the malecontents to give over their designs. "All four had been chosen," says Southey, "not only because of their merit, but also because they were persons whom he was supposed both to respect, and to regard as friends." They found the gates shut, but were admitted without their attendants except the pursebearer with the great seal, the Lord keeper being one of the four dignitaries, who appear to have gone in their official robes and badges of office. The leaders and their company were assembled in the court-yard, and crowded around the counsellors as they advanced towards the Earl of Essex, to whom the Lord keeper in a loud voice delivered the Queen's message, "that they were sent to learn the cause of so great a concourse of people, and let them know that they should be heard if they complained of any grievances they wished to have redressed." Essex replied in an angry tone, reciting the causes of his disaffection; and the Earl of Southampton also addressed them in a similar strain. The lord chief justice then promised that they would faithfully report their complaints to her

Majesty. But a tumult arising among the crowd, the Lord keeper commanded all upon their allegiance to lay down their arms and depart. Essex thereupon went into the house, followed by the four counsellors, who desired a private interview with him; but when they had entered his library, the Earl gave orders to fasten the doors, and committed them as prisoners to the charge of three persons, one of whom, named Salisbury, is said to have been a notorious robber, who "bore a special spleen against the lord chief justice." A guard was set by these persons at the door of the library, with loaded muskets and lighted matches.

Essex then leaving his house in the charge of Sir Gilly Merrick, sallied forth with about 200 men, and entered the city by Ludgate, (which was not far from Essex-house,) uttering loud cries, the purport of which was that the Queen was in danger, and that "England was bought and sold to the Spaniards." Hastening along Cheapside, they came to the house of the Sheriff, on whom they seem to have reckoned, but that official made his escape by the back door of his house, and repaired to the lord mayor. Thus checked, and finding that not so much as one man of even the lowest quality joined them, Essex remained in the sheriff's house undecided which way he should turn.

In the meantime, formal proclamation was made in another quarter of the city, denouncing Essex and his adherents as traitors; who upon being informed of it rushed again into the streets, calling upon the citizens to arm; but in vain. The only resource left to the unhappy Earl was to return to his own house, and endeavor to obtain pardon by means of the four

members of the Council whom he had left there in confinement. But on reaching Ludgate, he found it guarded by a competent force, that refused to allow him to pass; whereupon he gave Gorges a token, authorizing him to go alone to Essex-house and release the Lord Chief Justice, and by his means intercede for pardon. Sir Ferdinando, finding that the Chief Justice refused his liberty unless the Lord keeper also were released, set all the four councillors free, and went with them by water to the court.* This prudent course on the part of Gorges probably saved him from the consequences of having followed the fortunes of Essex until they became desperate; to have gone farther would have been madness.

Meantime, after the sacrifice of several lives in their efforts to escape from the city, Essex and his followers succeeded in reaching his house, which they at first proposed to defend, but finally surrendered, and were committed to the Tower and other prisons. In eleven days after the failure of this desperate enterprise, the earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned for high treason, and found guilty. A few days after, five of their associates, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir Charles Davers, Sir John Davis, Sir Gilly Merrick, and Henry Cuffe, were also tried and convicted of the same offence. They all suffered death except the Earl of Southampton, who was finally pardoned.

After these events Gorges appears to have returned to his government at Plymouth, where we have already seen that he was residing in 1605, when

*Camden. Annales Rerum Ang. et Hib. 610.

George Weymouth arrived at that port from his visit to Penobscot river, bringing with him the five Indians who first turned the attention of Sir Ferdinando to the American coast. He is again noticed in the general histories of that period as the commander of one of the ships sent to the aid of the king of France in 1625; but as soon as it was suspected that they were to be used against the French Protestants, there was a general desertion of the officers and men, on which occasion Sir Ferdinando is described as having behaved with great spirit; for abruptly breaking away from the rest of the fleet, he returned at once to England, at the hazard of incurring the displeasure of the king and his favorite Buckingham.

It has already been stated that in the civil wars he took up arms in defence of his king. Towards the close of 1642, when hostilities had just commenced, efforts were made by the royal party to introduce troops into the city of Bristol, which had not yet taken sides in the contest. For this purpose Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Mr. Smith of Long Ashton, were deputed to wait on the mayor to obtain his consent; but the application failed. The city was then invested by a large force in the interest of the king, and soon after surrendered. In 1645, Cromwell recaptured it by assault; and it is stated by Josselyn, a contemporary writer, that Sir Ferdinando was plundered and thrown into prison. It is probable that he died soon after, for in the same year the following order was adopted by the court in his Province of Maine: "It is ordered, that Richard Vines shall have power to take into his possession the goods and chattels of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and to pay such debts as

Sir Ferdinando is in any way indebted to any." At the same time a public fast was ordered to be "solemnly kept upon Thursday, 20th of November next, through this Province." Vines had been for many years the agent of Gorges in this country, before and after its settlement, and for at least fifteen years a resident on the west side of Saco river, on a patent granted him by the Council of Plymouth, now constituting the town of Biddeford. After the departure of Thomas Gorges, he was elected governor of the Province, and held that office until the death of his patron and friend, when he sold his patent and removed to the island of Barbadoes.

A grandson of the Lord Proprietor, Ferdinando Gorges, Esq., as we have already noticed, succeeded to the proprietorship of the Province, some time before the restoration of Charles II. To him we are indebted for the publication of his grandfather's Brief Narration, a work evidently written with a deep conviction of the future importance of these western shores, and illustrating the indomitable spirit of enterprise that distinguished its author to the very close of a long and useful life.

I cannot, perhaps, more appropriately conclude these remarks than with this imperfect notice of the man who must ever be regarded as the most active and persevering of all the friends of American colonization, through periods of discouragement and difficulty; and especially as the Founder of this Commonwealth. In my humble opinion, Maine owes some public acknowledgment to the memory of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, for having laid the foundation of its existence as a separate and independent community. In

ancient times, we are told, the founders of colonies were deified by their successors; this was doubtless an exaggerated expression of the proper feeling to be entertained for them. But it will not be denied that their services merit a substantial commemoration at the hands of their posterity. Nor have our American republics altogether neglected to pay tributes of gratitude and admiration to the great and good men who had the forecast to scatter the seeds of future growth and prosperity within their borders. Bradford and Winthrop are names that will never die amongst their successors at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay; Pennsylvania will never forget her obligations to the illustrious Friend of humanity who peopled her wilderness; nor will Georgia suffer the memory of the enlightened Oglethorpe to perish; Maryland has stamped the name of Baltimore upon her brilliant commercial metropolis, and North Carolina has her "city of Raleigh," although the projected colony of Sir Walter proved a splendid failure. And shall Maine do nothing to mark her sense of the merits of the liberal patron and successful abettor of the first settlements within her limits — who expended a large fortune upon his projects of discovery and colonization — who, when the country was abandoned and denounced by others as too cold and dreary for human habitation, actually hired men to pass the winter here to prove the contrary — and who died without reaping any substantial return for all his labors and outlays, leaving only a legacy of law suits to his descendants? It is time that justice was done to his memory. From the small beginning he made this community has become a widely

extended, populous and wealthy state — rich in her resources, and not less distinguished for the active enterprise and laborious industry of her population. She can well afford to honor the memory of the man who foresaw all this, and devoted the energies of a long life to its consummation.

But the appeal is unnecessary; for I address an association that has in its keeping the historical reputation of the State and its Founder, and that will not suffer to perish a single existing memorial of the services of those who led the way in planting religion and civilization upon these northern shores. The wilderness has budded and blossomed like the rose, and those who are now living reap the benefits of its changed condition. Let them not begrudge a handful of its floral treasures to deck the tomb of the gallant old cavalier who sowed the seeds from which have sprung so much beauty and fragrance.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

PAGE 14. At the period of the discovery of America, the Tartars had been driven from China, and the Khans were of course no longer at the head of its government. This revolution took place A. D., 1366. But this fact was then unknown in Europe; and the only available source of knowledge respecting that vast empire seems to have been the travels of Marco Polo, whose visit to China preceded the age of Columbus by a period of two centuries. Strictly, the northern part of the country was then called Cathay, or Kathai, and the southern Mangi, or Mangee. Had Columbus succeeded in reaching China, his Arabian interpreters, would have been of course, useless to him.

PAGE 15. The island of *S. Joan* is laid down on the map of Ortelius, in about latitude 56 degrees north. This writer professes to have seen a map of the world by Sebastian Cabot, which he cites among his authorities. "Sebastianus Cabotus, Venetus. *Universalem Tabulam, quam impressam æneis formis vidimus, sed sine nomine loci et impressoris.*" No such map is now extant.

PAGES 16 and 17. It appears that the first general name for all that portion of North America extending to the north of Florida, was BACCALAOS, meaning the land or coast of codfish. Such was the interpretation given to the name by the Breton and Norman sailors, "La Coste des Molues." DE DRY. *Americæ Pars Quarta.* p. 69.

Next came the name of NORUMBEGA, at one time of an application equally extensive. This was followed by CADIE, or ACADIE, which, however, soon divided the honor with VIRGINIA. Virginia, in its turn, was cut up into North and South Virginia, and afterwards was still further limited to the country between Florida and Delaware Bay, North Virginia taking the names of New England and New Netherland.

PAGE 22. An account of Weymouth's voyage was published the same year at London, and attracted public attention to a considerable degree. This work has been recently reprinted in the Collections of the Mass. Hist. Society, Vol. 28th, from a transcript procured in England by Mr. Sparks. The title of the book is as follows:—"A True Relation of the most prosperous Voyage made this present year, 1605, by Captain George Weymouth, in the discovery of the LAND of VIRGINIA, where he discovered, sixty miles up, a most excellent river; together with a most fertile land. Written by James Rosier, a gentleman employed in the voyage. London; Impensis Geor. Bishop. 1605." The chapter in Purchas containing extracts from this work, has additional particulars of the voyage, derived doubtless from oral or other communications made to the author by the navigators on their return to England. The patron of the enterprise was

Lord Arundel of Wardour, created Count of the Empire by Rodolph II. Emperor of Germany, for his gallant services against the Turks.

PAGES 24. 25. "In the south CHAPEL of this church [of Wellington] there is a magnificent tomb, erected in honor of Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is surrounded by a handsome pallisado of wood and iron. On the table of the monument are the effigies of Sir John Popham and his lady. He is dressed in his judge's robes, chain, and small square cap. He reclines with his head towards the west. On the lower basement, at the head and feet, are four smaller figures of two men and two women, kneeling face to face. On the north side are five boys and eight girls, dressed in black, kneeling in a row. On the south side are nine women, kneeling in the same manner. Over Sir John and his lady is a superb arched canopy, beautifully ornamented with the family arms, roses, paintings, and obelisks. The whole is supported by eight round columns of black marble, five feet high, with Corinthian capitals, green and gilt. On the west side of this canopy is the following inscription:—

'Sir John Popham, knighte, Lord Chief Justice of England; and of the honourable privie counsel to Queen Elizabeth, and after to king James died the tenth of June, 1607, aged seventy-six, and is here interred.'

It may not be improper to remark here, that Sir John Popham was one of the most upright and able judges that ever sat upon the English bench. He was a native of Huntwith, in this county [Somersetshire], and educated chiefly at Baliol College, in Oxford. From hence he removed to the Temple, and was admitted barrister in 1568. He was afterwards successively serjeant at law, solicitor-general, and attorney-general, previous to his ultimate promotion, which took place in 1592. Sir John was a munificent patron to Wellington. Here he built a large and elegant house, for his own residence, which was converted into a garrison for the use of the parliamentary army, in the time of Oliver Cromwell. It was soon after besieged by the royalists, and so completely ruined during the contest, that it was never attempted to be repaired. He also erected an hospital at the west end of the town, for twelve old and infirm persons, the one half being men, and the other women. Two children were also to be educated here. It is still standing [1813], and the charity applied. Sir John endowed it with an estate in land, which is now vested in the governors." *The Beauties of England and Wales*, &c. by Rev. J. Nightingale, vol. 13th, Art. SOMERSETSHIRE.

Aubrey, whose notices of Eminent Men are a repository of contemporary scandal, says that, for several years after Popham entered the legal profession, he "addicted himself but little to the studie of the lawes, but profligate company, and *was wont to take a purse with them.* His wife considered her and his condition, and at last prevailed with him to lead another life, and to stick to the study of the lawe; which, upon her importunity, he did, being then about thirtie years old. He spake to his wife to provide a very good entertainment for his camerades to take his leave of them; and after that day fell extremely hard to his studie, and profited exceedingly. He was a strong, stout man, and could endure to

sit at it day and night; became eminent at his calling, had good practice, was called to be a serjeant [at law],———a judge." Vol. 2. p. 492.

Then follows a story of the judge having been bribed to save the life of a man tried for infanticide; but the manner in which he was able to effect such a result, is not stated. The annotator remarks, that "Sir John Popham gave sentence according to lawe, but being a great person and a favorite, he procured a *noli prosequi*."

The author of the Discourse of Sir W. Raleigh, referred to in the text, in his zeal to vindicate his hero, does not hesitate to charge the chief justice with "taking purses on the highway, and bribes on the bench," on the sole authority of the gossiping writer above cited. The reader will be able to satisfy his own mind, probably, without much trouble, as to the probability of those charges being well founded.

Grahame, *Hist. U. S.* is also disposed to treat the chief justice with some harshness, for the same cause, namely, his supposed readiness to have Raleigh convicted. But that author should have recollected that it was to one of his own nation that Sir Walter owed all his misfortunes, namely, king James, the Sixth of Scotland.

Pages 56. 57. Morton devotes a chapter of his "*New English Canaan*" to Sir Christopher Gardiner, whom he characterizes as "a knight, that had been a traveller, both by sea and land; a good judicious gentleman in the mathematicks and other sciences useful for plantations, chimistry, &c. and also being a practical Engineer; he came into those parts intending discovery." p. 182. Again, he says, "Sir Christopher was gone with a guide (a salvage) into the inland parts for discovery; but before he was returned, he met with a salvage that told the guide, Sir Christopher would be killed," &c. But he, "finding how they had used him, with such disrespect, took shipping, and disposed of himself for England, and discovered their practices in those parts towards his Majestie's true-hearted subjects, whom they made wary of their abode in those parts."

Morton's testimony will of course pass for what it is worth. Sir Christopher and himself both incurred the displeasure of the puritan fathers, and joined common cause together in opposing their interests in England; but it is always best to hear both sides of a case. It must be allowed that the treatment of these gentlemen was rigorous in the extreme, considering that their chief offence consisted in not harmonizing in sentiment with the people among whom they were thrown.

Pages 59, 64. Sir Thomas Josselyn, named in the first charter of Maine at the head of the Commissioners to organize the government, was the father of Henry Josselyn, Esq., of Black Point, (now Scarborough,) and of John Josselyn, Gent., the traveller, whose two voyages to New England are often quoted in connexion with its early history. This appears from Morton, who speaking of the "Erocoise Lake," [Lake Champlain], says, "A more complete discovery of those parts is (to my knowledge) undertaken by Henry Joseline, Esquire, son of Sir Thomas Joseline, of Kent, knight, by the approbation and appointment of that heroic and very good Commonwealth's man, Captain John Mason, Es-

quire, a true foster-father and lover of virtue, who at his own charge hath fitted Master Joseline, and employed him to that purpose," &c. *New English Canaan, pp.* 98, 99.

Henry Josselyn resided many years at Black Point, and was highly respected as a magistrate. He succeeded Mr. Vines as Governor of the Province, in 1645.

I cannot conclude this note without expressing my sincere acknowledgments to Henry Brevoort, Esq., of the city of New York, for the loan of a copy of Morton's *New England Canaan*, now a very rare book.

A

BRIEF NARRATION

OF THE

ORIGINAL UNDERTAKINGS

FOR THE

ADVANCEMENT OF PLANTATIONS IN AMERICA.

BY

SIR FERDINANDO GORGES, KT.

LORD PROPRIETOR OF THE PROVINCE OF MAINE,

IN NEW ENGLAND.

Vol. II.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

This historical tract was not published until several years after the death of its distinguished author, when it was edited by his grandson, Ferdinando Gorges, Esq., as a part of a more general work under the title of "America Painted to the Life," &c. This work comprised notices of the Spanish discoveries and settlements in North and South America, as well as those of the English and Dutch on the northern continent, but with a more particular reference to New England. The compiler professes to have collected his materials from various standard authorities, and from the relations and oral discourse of some of the original planters of New England. His account of the puritan colonies is chiefly taken from an anonymous work, ascribed to a Massachusetts planter, named Edward Johnson, which bears the quaint title of "*Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour, being a Relation of the first planting in New England, in the yeare* 1628," first published by a London bookseller, in 1654. But all that relates to the early voyages for the exploration and settlement of New England, under the auspices of the Plymouth Company, and afterwards of the Council established at Plymouth, is derived from this tract of his grandfather, which he also published in full, in connexion with his general work, as already stated. The following is the title of the latter: —

"America Painted to the Life. The true History of the Spaniards' Proceedings in the Conquests of the Indians, and of their Civil Wars among themselves, from Columbus his first Discovery, to these later Times. As also, of the Original Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations in those parts; With a perfect Relation of our English Discoveries, shewing their Beginning, Progress, and Continuance, from the year 1628, to 1658. Declaring the Forms of their Government, Policies, Religions, Manners, Customs, Military Discipline, Wars with the Indians, the Commodities of their Countries, a Description of their Towns and Havens, the Increase of their Trading, with the names of their Governors and Magistrates.

More especially, an Absolute Narrative of the North parts of America, and of the Discoveries and Plantations of our English in VIRGINIA, NEW ENGLAND, and BERBADOES.

Publisht by Ferdinando Gorges, Esq.; A Work now at last exposed for the publick good, to stir up the Heroick and Active Spirits of these times, to benefit their Countrey, and eternize their Names by such Honorable Attempts.

For the Reader's clearer understanding of the Countreys, they are lively described in a compleat and exquisite Map.

*Ovid. Auri sacra fames quid non —

London: Printed for Nath. Brook, at the Angell in Corn-hill, 1659."

Besides the Map, there is a frontispiece representing a female figure seated beneath a tree, with a tiara of feathers upon the head and a string of beads about the neck. A slight drapery is thrown over the loins, and the left hand rests upon a bow, while the right grasps an arrow. Over the head of this figure is the word AMERICA; and in the back-ground are seen two cannibals, one of whom is cutting up his victim, and the other roasting the limbs over a fire. An Indian hunter is also seen in the distance, with his arrow pointed at a deer. The words, "*Pavit qui genuit*," are inscribed upon a scroll on the left of the head of the principal figure, and beneath the whole are the following lines: —

Though to my sisters long unknown I lay,
I am as rich and greater far than they.
My barbarous rudeness doth at full express
What nature is, till we have Grace's dress;
But where the gloomy shades of death yet be,
The sunshine of God's love I hope to see."†

The Preface to this work is not the least interesting part of it; and as a portion of it has some bearing upon the following Narration, we proceed to lay it before the reader.

"TO THE JUDICIOUS READER.

I should have attempted but an imperfect design, ingenious Reader, in publishing this relation of my Grand-Father, Sir Ferdinando Gorges,

*Virgil.

†We have been more particular in describing this frontispiece, as Mr. Rich, in his Catalogue of books relating to America, describes a different one in the copy of the work possessed by him; he says, "besides the map, there is a portrait of a young Indian woman with a human leg in her hand." The lines quoted by him as inscribed on the plate, are also entirely different from those cited above.

(which was left unfinisht, in regard both the late wars put a great stop, and afterwards his own death an utter end, to these noble and generous undertakings of which he had laid so fair and hopeful a foundation,) had I not myself supplied this defect, by adding both out of the choicest authors as Davity,* Jean de Laet, Anthony Herrera, Oviedo, Francis Ximenes, Champlain, Sparbot,† and others, by selecting from them that which was most materiall in each of them; and also from the relations and discourse of those that have been Governors and Planters in those parts, as Mr. Edward Godfrey, Mr. Robert Gorges, and others, a more exact and compleat account of that Country than hath been hitherto made publick, and particularly of the Province of Maine, of which my Grand-Father was Lord and Chief Governor by a Patent from the late King; upon the description of which Province I have insisted the more largely, as well for that it hath not been particularly mentioned by others, as for the peculiar interest I myself have in it as legally descending to me by right of inheritance; nor do I doubt, though my just claim be opposed by those of Massachusetts Bay, but when the matter comes to be decided by a legal hearing, it will be seriously pondered, with what indefatigable pains and vast charges my Grand-Father undertook the promoting of this Plantation, notwithstanding the powerful opposition he met with both from the Virginia Company, and from the French Ambassador, who laid a powerful claim to that country in behalf of the King, his Master; so that both law and equity require that the heir should possess that which his ancestors have acquired with so much industry and hazard. Moreover, the care, the vigilance, the losses, the dangers of those that have had the management of affaires since his death, have been such, (as may appear by the writings herewith published, of Mr. Edward Godfrey, who was one of the chiefest of them, and whose long travail, experience, and integrity render him a person truly capable of such like employments,) that our adversaries can take no advantage against us, thro' any default or miscarriage on our parts. But not to dwell longer upon a matter which concerns myself only, the consideration of what great honor and advantage to this nation our foreign Colonies and Plantations have been, is a matter of too great concernment to be passed by; all the Colonies that have been settled these latter ages, with how much the more peril and difficulty they have been performed, (as what great attempt hath not danger following the heels,) than those ancients, so much the more glorious and advantageous they have been to the undertakers, at least to their country in general, at the prosperity of which all generous spirits do aim.‡ * * * *

FERDINANDO GORGES."

Some mystery hangs over another publication to which the name of Sir Ferdinando Gorges is attached as author, and that of his grandson Ferdinando, as editor; but which is known to have been the production of another. The work referred to is the "Wonder-Work-

* Misprint, probably, for Davila. † L'Escarbot.

‡ The remainder of this document is without interest in this connexion.

ing Providence," already mentioned, which is found with a new title-page, corresponding to that of Gorges, and having the preface of Sir Ferdinando's Brief Relation prefixed to it; but the body of the work is the same as the edition of 1654. This counterfeit has in the imprint the year 1658, and the name of the bookseller, "Nathaniel Brook, at the Angell in Cornhill," who published both the "Wonder-Working Providence," and the work of Gorges. It is not improbable that this publisher, finding the "Wonder-Working Providence" unsaleable as an anonymous work, after the lapse of four years from the date of its publication, took the liberty of giving it a new title-page, with the name of Sir Ferdinando Gorges as the author, to promote its sale. This seems the most plausible conjecture, as the interest in the "Wonder-Working Providence" probably resided in the bookseller, certainly not in Gorges, and it is well known that old and unsaleable books are often passed off under fresh and more taking titles by their publishers.

Yet some historical writers have not hesitated to make this matter a subject of reproach to the younger Gorges, as if the deception had been practised by his agency, of which there is not the slightest evidence. For all that is now known, the deception, when it came to his knowledge, may have been denounced by him in proper terms. At all events, so far as appears from the occasional notices of this gentleman, especially in respect to the maintenance of his hereditary rights against the claims of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, he bore a highly honorable character, and acquitted himself in that controversy with firmness and independence.

F.

A

BRIEFE NARRATION

OF THE

ORIGINALL UNDERTAKINGS

OF THE

ADVANCEMENT OF PLANTATIONS

INTO THE

PARTS OF AMERICA,

ESPECIALLY SHEWING THE

BEGINNING, PROGRESS AND CONTINUANCE

OF THAT OF

NEW ENGLAND.

WRITTEN BY THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

SIR FERDINANDO GORGES,

KNIGHT AND GOVERNOUR OF THE FORT AND ISLAND OF PLYMOUTH,

IN DEVONSHIRE.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY E. BRUDENELL, FOR NATH. BROOK,

AT THE ANGELL, IN CORN-HILL.

1658.

TO THE READER.

I THOUGHT it a part of my duty, in this my Brief Narration of our Plantations, to remember the original undertaking of those designs in the parts of America, by such noble spirits of our nation that first attempted it; as well for the justification of the right thereof, properly belonging to kings of our nation, before any other prince or state, as also the better to clear the claim made thereunto by the ambassador of France, in the behalf of his master, in the year 1624, whereto I was required to make answer (as more at large it appears in the discourse itself); withal to leave to posterity the particular ways by which it hath been brought to the height it is come unto, wherein the providence of our great God is especially to be observed, who by the least and weakest means, oftentimes effecteth great and wonderful things; all which I have endeavored to contract in as short a compass as the length of the time and the variety of the accidents would give leave. As for the truth thereof, I presume it is so publicly known, as malice itself dares not only question it; though I know none, I thank my God, to whom I have given any just cause maliciously to attempt it, unless it be for the desire I had to do good to all without wronging of any, as by the course of my life to this present it may appear.

If in the conclusion of my undertaking and expense of my fortunes to advance the honor and happiness of my nation, I have settled a portion thereof to those that in nature must succeed me, you may be pleased to remember that the laborer is worthy of his hire:

That I have not exceeded others not better deserving, that I go hand in hand with the meanest in this great work, to whom the charge thereof was committed by royal authority:

That I have opened the way to greater employments, and shall be (as a hand set up in a cross way) in a desert country to point all travellers in such like kind, how they may come safe to finish their journey's end, leaving an example to others, best affected to designs of such like nature, to prosecute their intents for further enlargement of those begun plantations, without trenching or intruding upon the rights and labors of others already possessed of what is justly granted them:

Especially of such, who in some sort may be termed benefactors, as secondary donors of what (by God's favor) is had, or to be had from those springs they first found and left to posterity to bathe themselves in. But if there be any otherwise affected, as better delighted to reap what they have not sown, or to possess the fruit another hath labored for, let such be assured, so great injustice will never want a woful attendance to follow close at the heels, if not stayed behind to bring after a more terrible revenge. But my trust is, such impiety will not be suddenly harbored where the whole work is, I hope, still continued for the enlargement of the Christian faith, the supportation of justice, and love of peace. In assurance whereof, I will conclude, and tell you, as I have lived long, so I have done what I could. Let those that come after me do for their parts what they may, and I doubt not but the God that governs all, will reward their labors that continue in his service. To whom be glory for ever. Amen.

FERDINANDO GORGES.

BRIEF NARRATION.

CHAPTER I.

Of the First Seisin, Possession, and Name of Virginia.

THAT Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and Sir Richard Grenville, and many others, noble spirits of our nation, attempted to settle a plantation in the parts of America, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, is sufficiently published in the painful collections of Mr. Hakluyt, together with the variable successes of those undertakers; of whose labor and charge there remained no other fruit than the primor seisin and royal possession taken thereof, as of right belonging to the crown of England, giving it the name of Virginia, in the memory and honor of that virgin queen, the wonder of her sex, by whose authority those attempts took their first life, and died not till the actors ended their days, and their chief supporters and advancers tried with so many fruitless attempts and endless charge without hope of profit to follow for many ages to come; so that that attempt had its end, as many others since that of greater hopes and better grounded. But what shall we say? As nothing is done but according to the time fore-decreed by God's sacred providence, so doth he provide wherewith to accomplish the same in the fulness of it. But the mirror of queens being summoned to the possession of a more glorious reign, left her terrestrial crown to her successor James, the Sixth of Scotland, to whom of right it did belong.

CHAPTER II.

The reasons and means of renewing the undertakings of Plantations in America.

This great monarch gloriously ascending his throne, [1603] being born to greatness above his ancestors, to whom all submitted as to another Solomon for wisdom and justice, as well as for that he brought with him another crown, whereby those kingdoms that had so long contended for rights and liberties, perhaps oft-times pretended rather to satisfy their present purposes, than that justice required it. But such is the frailty of human nature as not to be content with what we possess, but strives by all means to inthral the weaker that is necessitated to prevent the worst, though by such means sometimes to their greater ruin. With this union there was also a general peace concluded between the State and the King of Spain, the then only enemy of our nation and religion, whereby our men of war by sea and land were left destitute of all hope of employment under their own prince; and therefore there was liberty given to them (for preventing other evils) to be entertained as mercenaries under what prince or state they pleased,—a liberty granted upon show of reason, yet of a dangerous consequence, when our friends and allies, that had long travailed with us in one and the same quarrel, should now find our swords sharpened as well against as for them. Howsoever reason of state approved thereof, the world forbore not to censure it as their affections led them. Others grew jealous what might be the issue, especially when it was found that by such liberty the sword was put into their hands, the law had prohibited them the use. Some there were, not liking to be servants to foreign states, thought it better became them to put in practice the reviving resolution of those free spirits, that rather chose to spend themselves in seeking a new world,

than servilely to be hired but as slaughterers in the quarrels of strangers. This resolution being stronger than their means to put it into execution, they were forced to let it rest as a dream, till God should give the means to stir up the inclination of such a power able to bring it to life.

And so it pleased our great God, that there happened to come into the harbor of Plymouth [July, 1605,] (where I then commanded) one Captain Weymouth, that had been employed by the Lord Arundel of Wardour for the discovery of the North-west passage; but falling short of his course, happened into a river on the coast of America, called Pemaquid [the Penobscot,] from whence he brought five of the natives, three of whose names were Manida, Skettwarroes, and Tasquantum, whom I seized upon. They were all of one nation, but of several parts and several families. This accident must be acknowledged the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations, as by the ensuing discourse will manifestly appear.

CHAPTER III.

Of the use I made of the natives.

After I had those people some time in my custody, I observed in them an inclination to follow the example of the better sort, and in all their carriages manifest shows of great civility, far from the rudeness of our common people. And the longer I conversed with them, the better hope they gave me of those parts where they did inhabit, as proper for our uses; especially when I found what goodly rivers, stately islands and safe harbors those parts abounded with, being the special marks I levelled at, as the only want our nation met with in all their navigations along that coast. And having kept them full three years, I made them able to set me down what great rivers ran up into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of, how

allied, what enemies they had, and the like; of which in his proper place.

CHAPTER IV.

Captain Henry Challoung sent to make his residence in the country till supplies came.

THOSE credible informations the natives had given me of the condition and state of their country, made me [August, 1606] send away a ship furnished with men and all necessaries, provisions convenient for the service intended, under the command of Captain Henry Challoung, a gentleman of a good family, industrious, and of fair condition; to whom I gave such directions and instructions for his better direction as I knew proper for his use and my satisfaction, being grounded upon the information I had of the natives, sending two of them with him to aver the same; binding both the captain, his master and company strictly to follow it, or to expect the miscarriage of the voyage to be laid unto their charge; commanding them by all means to keep the northerly gage, as high as Cape Britton, till they had discovered the main, and then to beat it up to the southward, as the coast tended, till they found by the natives they were near the place they were assigned unto. Though this were a direction contrary to the opinion of our best seamen of these times, yet I knew many reasons persuading me thereunto, as well as for that I understood the natives themselves to be exact pilots for that coast, having been accustomed to frequent the same, both as fishermen, and in passing along the shore to seek their enemies, that dwelt to the northward of them. But it is not in the wit of man to prevent the providence of the Most High.

For this captain being some hundred leagues of the island of Canary, fell sick of a fever, and the winds being westerly, his company shaped their course for the Indies, and coming to St. John de Porto Rico, the captain himself went ashore for the recovery of his health, while the com-

pany took in water, and such other provision as they had present use of, expending some time there, hunting after such things as best pleased themselves. That ended, they set their course to fall with their own height they were directed unto; by which means they met the Spanish fleet that came from Havana, by whom they were taken and carried into Spain, where their ship and goods were confiscate, themselves made prisoners, the voyage overthrown, and both my natives lost. This the gain of their breach of order, which, afterwards observed, brought all our ships to their desired ports. The affliction of the captain and his company put the Lord Chief Justice Popham to charge, and myself to trouble in procuring their liberties, which was not suddenly obtained.

CHAPTER V.

The Lord Chief Justice despatching Captain Prin from Bristol for the supply of Captain Challoung.

SHORTLY upon my sending away of Captain Challoung, it pleased the Lord Chief Justice, according to his promise, to despatch Captain Prin from Bristol, with hope to have found Captain Challoung where by his instructions he was assigned; who observing the same, happily arrived there, but not hearing by any means what became of him, after he had made a perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors he was informed of by his instructions, (the season of the year requiring his return) brings with him the most exact discovery of that coast that ever came to my hands since; and indeed he was the best able to perform it of any I met withal to this present; which, with his relation of the country, wrought such an impression in the Lord Chief Justice and us all that were his associates, that (notwithstanding our first disaster) we set up our resolutions to follow it with effect, and that upon better grounds, for as yet our authority was but in motion.

CHAPTER VI.

Of his Lordship's care in procuring His Majesty's authority for settling two Colonies.

In this interim his Lordship failed not to interest many of the lords and others to be petitioners to his Majesty for his royal authority, for settling two Plantations upon the coasts of America, by the names of the first and Second Colony; the first to be undertaken by certain noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and merchants in and about the city of London; the second by certain knights, gentlemen, and merchants in the Western parts. This being obtained [1606,] theirs of London made a very hopeful entrance into their design, sending away [June 2, 1609,] under the command of Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, and many other gentlemen of quality, a very great and hopeful Plantation to repossess the parts of Virginia.[2] Sir Thomas Gates happily arrived in the bay of Jessepiok [in August,] in which navigation Sir George Summers unhapily cast away his ship upon the islands of Bermathaes, since called the Summer Islands, in memory of him that deserved the honor for the great pains, care and industry he used out of the carcass of his wrecked ship to build a new barque sufficient for the transportation of himself, distressed company and provision, to find out Sir Thomas Gates, who timely arrived, to the wonder of the rest of his consorts.

CHAPTER VII.

The despatch of the first Plantation for the second Colony sent from Plymouth.

By the same authority all things fully agreed upon between both the colonies, the Lord Chief Justice, his friends and associates of the West country, sent from Plymouth

Captain Popham as President for that employment, with Captain Rawley Gilbert, and divers other gentlemen of note, in three sail of ships, with one hundred landmen, for the seizing such a place as they were directed unto by the Council of that colony; who departed from the coast of England the one-and-thirtieth day of May, anno 1607, and arrived at their rendezvous the 8th of August following. As soon as the President had taken notice of the place, and given order for landing the provisions, he despatched away Captain Gilbert, with Skitwarres his guide, for the thorough discovery of the rivers and habitations of the natives; by whom he was brought to several of them, where he found civil entertainment and kind respects, far from brutish or savage natures, so as they suddenly became familiar friends; especially by the means of Dehamda, and Skitwarres who had been in England, Dehamda being sent by the Lord Chief Justice with Captain Prin, and Skitwarres by me in company; so as the President was earnestly entreated by Sassenow, Aberemet, and others the principal sagamores (as they call their great lords) to go to the Bashabas, who it seems was their king, and held a state agreeable, expecting that all strangers should have their address to him, not he to them.

To whom the President would have gone after several invitations, but was hindered by cross winds and foul weather, so as he was forced to return back without making good what he had promised, much to the grief of those sagamores that were to attend him. The Bashabas notwithstanding, hearing of his misfortune, sent his own son to visit him, and to beat a trade with him for furs. How it succeeded, I could not understand, for that the ships were to be despatched away for England, the winter being already come, for it was the 15th day of December before they set sail to return; who brought with them the success of what had passed in that employment, which so soon as it came to the Lord Chief Justice's hands, he gave out order to the Council for sending them back with supplies necessary.

CHAPTER VIII.

The sending supplies to the Colony, and the unhappy death of the Lord Chief Justice before their departure.

THE supplies being furnished and all things ready, only attending for a fair wind, which happened not before the news of the Chief Justice's death was posted to them to be transported to the discomfort of the poor planters; but the ships arriving there in good time, was a great refreshing to those that had had their storehouse and most of their provisions burnt the winter before.

Besides that, they were strangely perplexed with the great and unseasonable cold they suffered, with that extremity as the like hath not been heard of since, and it seems was universal, it being the same year that our Thames was so locked up that they built their boats upon it, and sold provisions of several sorts to those that delighted in the novelties of the times. But the miseries they had passed were nothing to that they suffered by the disastrous news they received of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, that suddenly followed the death of their President; but the latter was not so strange, in that he was well stricken in years before he went, and had long been an infirm man. Howsoever heartened by hopes, willing he was to die in acting something that might be serviceable to God and honorable to his country. But that of the death of the Chief Justice was such a corrosive to all, as struck them with despair of future remedy, and it was the more augmented, when they heard of the death of Sir John Gilbert, elder brother of Rawley Gilbert that was then their President, a man worthy to be beloved of them all for his industry and care for their well-being. The President was to return to settle the state his brother had left him; upon which all resolved to quit the place, [1608] and with one consent to away, by

which means all our former hopes were frozen to death; though Sir Francis Popham could not so give it over, but continued to send thither several years after in hope of better fortunes, but found it fruitless, and was necessitated at last to sit down with the loss he had already undergone.

CHAPTER IX.

My resolution not to abandon to prosecution of the business, in my opinion so well grounded.

ALTHOUGH I were interested in all these misfortunes, and found it wholly given over by the body of the adventurers, as well for that they had lost the principal support of the design, as also that the country itself was branded by the return of the Plantation, as being over cold, and in respect of that not habitable by our nation.

Besides, they understood it to be a task too great for particular persons to undertake, though the country itself, the rivers, havens, harbors upon that coast might in time prove profitable to us.

These last acknowledgments bound me confidently to prosecute my first resolution, not doubting but God would effect that which men despaired of. As for those reasons, the causes of others' discouragements, the first only was given to me, in that I had lost so noble a friend, and my nation so worthy a subject. As for the coldness of the clime, I had had too much experience in the world to be frighted with such a blast, as knowing many great kingdoms and large territories more northerly seated, and by many degrees colder than the clime from whence they came, yet plentifully inhabited, and divers of them stored with no better commodities from trade and commerce than those parts afforded, if like industry, art and labor be used. For the last, I had no reason greatly to despair of means, when God should be pleased, by our ordinary frequenting that country, to make it appear it would yield both profit and content to as many as aimed thereat, these being truly (for the most

part) the motives that all men labor, howsoever otherwise adjoined with fair colors and goodly shadows.

CHAPTER X.

A resolution to put new life into that scattered and lacerated Body.

FINDING I could no longer be seconded by others, I became an owner of a ship myself, fit for that employment, and under color of fishing and trade, I got a master and company for her, to which I sent Vines and others my own servants with their provision for trade and discovery, appointing them to leave the ship and ship's company for to follow their business in the usual place, (for I knew they would not be drawn to seek by any means.) By these and the help of those natives formerly sent over, I came to be truly informed of so much as gave me assurance that in time I should want no undertakers, though as yet I was forced to hire men to stay there the winter quarter at extreme rates, and not without danger, for that the war had consumed the Bashaba and the most of the great sagamores, with such men of action as followed them, and those that remained were sore afflicted with the plague, so that the country was in a manner left void of inhabitants. Notwithstanding, Vines and the rest with him that lay in the cabins with those people that died, some more, some less mightily, (blessed be God for it) not one of them ever felt their heads to ache while they stayed there. And this course I held some years together, but nothing to my private profit, for what I got one way I spent another; so that I began to grow weary of that business, as not for my turn till better times.*

* Vines is supposed to have passed the winter of 1616-7 at Winter Harbor, now a part of the town of Biddeford, near the mouth of Saco river. *Prince. N. E. Chron.* 25. He subsequently procured a patent at the same place, eight miles on the river and four miles wide, and resided there many years.

CHAPTER XI.

Captain Harley coming to me with a new proposition of other hopes.

WHILE I was laboring by what means I might best continue life in my languishing hopes, there comes one Captain Henry Harley unto me, bringing with him a native of the island of Capawick [Martha's Vineyard,] a place seated to the southward of Cape Cod, whose name was Epenowe, a person of a goodly stature, strong and well proportioned. This man was taken upon the main with some twenty-nine others by a ship of London, that endeavored to sell them for slaves in Spain; but being understood that they were Americans, and found to be unapt for their uses, they would not meddle with them, this being one of them they refused. Wherein they expressed more worth than those that brought them to the market, who could not but know that our nation was at that time in travail for settling of Christian colonies upon that continent, it being an act much tending to our prejudice, when we came into that part of the countries, as it shall further appear. How Captain Harley came to be possessed of this savage, I know not; but I understood by others how he had been showed in London for a wonder. It is true (as I have said) he was a goodly man, of a brave aspect, stout, and sober in his demeanor, and had learned so much English as to bid those that wondered at him, "*Welcome! Welcome!*" this being the last and best use they could make of him, that was not grown out of the people's wonder. The Captain, falling further into his familiarity, found him to be of acquaintance and friendship with those subject to the Bashaba, whom the Captain well knew, being himself one of the Plantation sent over by the Lord Chief Justice, and by that means understood much of his language, found out the place of his birth, nature of the country, their several kinds of commodities and the like; by

which he conceived great hope that good might be made of him, if means could be found for his employment. But finding adventurers of that kind were worn out of date, after so many failings and so soon upon the return of our late colony, the gentleman calling to mind my aptness to designs of that nature, lays up his rest to discover his greatest secrets to me, by whom he had hoped to rise or fall in this action. After he had spoken with me, and that I had seen his savage, though I had some reason to believe the gentleman in what he told me, yet I thought it not amiss to take some time before I undertook a business (as I thought) so improbable in some particulars. But yet I doubted not, my resolution being such (as is said) I might make some use of his service; and therefore wished him to leave him with me, giving him my word, that when I saw my time to send again to those parts, he should have notice of it, and I would be glad to accept of his service, and that with as great kindness as he freely offered it; in the mean time, he might be pleased to take his own course.

CHAPTER XII.

The reasons of my undertaking the employment for the island of Capawick.

At the time this new savage came unto me, I had recovered Assacumet, one of the natives I sent with Captain Chalownes in his unhappy employment, with whom I lodged Epenaw, who at the first hardly understood one the other's speech; till after a while I perceived the difference was no more than that as ours is between the Northern and Southern people; so that I was a little eased in the use I made of my old servant, whom I engaged to give account of what he learned by conference between themselves, and he as faithfully performed it. Being fully satisfied of what he was able to say, and the time of making ready drawing on, following my pretended designs, I thought it became me to acquaint the thrice-honored Lord of Southampton with it, for that I knew the Captain had some relation to his Lord-

ship, and I not willing in those days to undertake any matter extraordinary without his Lordship's advice; who approved of it so well that he adventured one hundred pounds in that employment, and his Lordship being at that time commander of the Isle of Wight, where the Captain had his abiding under his Lordship, out of his nobleness was pleased to furnish me with some land soldiers, and to commend to me a grave gentleman, one Captain Hobson, who was willing to go that voyage and to adventure one hundred pounds himself. To him I gave the command of the ship, all things being ready, and the company came together, attending but for a fair wind. They set sail in June, in anno 1614, being fully instructed how to demean themselves in every kind, carrying with them Epenow, Assacomet, and Wenape, another native of those parts, sent me out of the Isle of Wight for my better information in the parts of the country of his knowledge. When as it pleased God that they were arrived upon the coast, they were piloted from place to place by the natives themselves as well as their hearts could desire. And coming to the harbor where Epenow was to make good his undertaking, the principal inhabitants of the place came aboard, some of them being his brothers, others his near cousins; who, after they had communed together, and were kindly entertained by the Captain, departed in their canoes, promising the next morning to come aboard again, and bring some trade with them. But Epenow privately (as it appeared) had contracted with his friends how he might make his escape without performing what he had undertaken, being in truth no more than he had told me he was to do though with loss of his life; for otherwise, if it were found that he had discovered the secrets of his country, he was sure to have his brains knocked out as soon as he came ashore. For that cause I gave the Captain strict charge to endeavor by all means to prevent his escaping from them; and for the more surety, I gave order to have three gentlemen of my own kindred (two brothers of Sturton's, and Master Matthews) to be ever at hand with him, clothing him with

long garments, fitly to be laid hold on if occasion should require. Notwithstanding all this, his friends being all come at the time appointed with twenty canoes, and lying at a certain distance with their bows ready, the Captain calls to them to come aboard; but they not moving, he speaks to Epenow to come unto him where he was, in the forecastle of the ship. He, being then in the waist of the ship between two of the gentlemen that had him in guard, starts suddenly from them, and coming to the Captain, calls to his friends in English to come aboard; in the interim slips himself overboard, and although he was taken hold of by one of the company, yet being a strong and heavy man, could not be stayed, and was no sooner in the water but the natives sent such a shower of arrows, and came withal desperately so near the ship, that they carried him away in despite of all the musketeers aboard, who were for the number as good as our nation did afford. And thus were my hopes of that particular made void and frustrate, and they returned without doing more, though otherwise ordered how to have spent that summer to good purpose. But such are the fruits to be looked for, by employing men more zealous of gain than fraught with experience how to make it.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sir Richard Hakings undertook by authority from the Council of the second Colony to try what service he could do them as President for that year.

Having received his commission and instructions, he departed in October, 1615, and spent the time of his being in those parts in searching of the country and finding out the commodities thereof. But the war was at the height, and the principal natives almost destroyed; so that his observation could not be such as could give account of any new matter, more than formerly had been received. From thence he passed along the coast to Virginia, and stayed there some time in expectation of what he could not be

satisfied in; so took his next course for Spain, to make the best of such commodities he had got together, as he coasted from place to place, having sent his ship laden with fish to the market before. And this was all that was done by any of us that year.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the sending of Captain Rocraft to meet with Captain Dermor in New-England.

About this time I received letters from Captain Dermor out of New-England, giving me to understand that there was one of my savages sent into those parts, brought from Malaga in a ship of Bristol, acquainting me with the means I might recover him: which I followed, and had him sent me, who was after employed with others in the voyage with Captain Hobson, sent to Capawike, as is above said. By this savage Captain Dermor understood so much of the state of his country, as drew his affections wholly to follow his hopes that way; to which purpose he writes, that if I pleased to send a commission to meet him in New-England, he would endeavor to come from the New-found-land to receive it, and to observe such other instructions as I pleased to give him. Whereupon the next season [1619],[3] I sent Captain Rocraft with a company I had of purpose hired for the service. At his arrival upon the coast he met with a small barque of Dieppe, which he seized upon, according to such liberties as was granted unto him in such cases; notwithstanding the poor Frenchman, being of our religion, I was easily persuaded, upon his petition, to give content for his loss, although it proved much to damage afterwards. For Captain Rocraft, being now shipped and furnished with all things necessary, left the coast, contrary to my directions, and went to Virginia, where he had formerly dwelt; and there falling into company with some of his old acquaintance, a quarrel happened between him and another, so that before he could get away he was slain; by which

accident the barque was left at random, (the most of the company being on shore). A storm arising, she was cast away, and all her provisions lost. Something was saved, but nothing ever came to my hands.

CHAPTER XV.

Of my employment of Captain Dormer after his failings to come from the New-found-land to New England.

Captain Dormer being disappointed of his means to come from New-found-land to New England, took shipping for England, and came to me at Plymouth [1619,] where I gave him an account of what I had done, and he me what his hopes were to be able to do me service, if I pleased to employ him. Hereupon I conferred his informations together with mine own I received by several ways, and found them to agree in many the particulars of highest consequence and best considerations. Whereupon I despatched him away with the company he had gotten together, as fast as my own ship could be made ready for her ordinary employment, sending with him what he thought necessary, hoping to have met Captain Rocraft, where he was assigned to attend till he received further directions from me. But at the ship's arrival they found Captain Rocraft gone for Virginia, with all his company, in the barque he had taken, of which before. Captain Dormer arriving, and seeing Rocraft gone, was much perplexed. Yet so resolved he was, that he ceased not to follow his design with the men and means which I had sent him; and so shaped his course from Sagadahock in forty-four degrees, to Capawike, being in forty-one and thirty-six minutes, sending me a journal of his proceeding, with the description of the coast all along as he passed. Passing by Capawike, he continued his course along the coast from harbor to harbor till he came to Virginia, where he expected to meet with Rocraft (as afore.) But finding him dead, and all lost that should have supplied him, he was forced to shift as he could to make his return, and coming

to Capawike and Nautican, and going first to Nautican and from thence to Capawike, he set himself and some of his people on shore, where he met with Epenow, the savage who had escaped, of whom before. This savage, speaking some English, laughed at his own escape, and reported the story of it. Mr. Dormer told him he came from me, and was one of my servants, and that I was much grieved he had been so ill used as to be forced to steal away. This savage was so cunning, that after he had questioned him about me and all he knew belonged unto me, conceived he was come on purpose to betray him, and conspired with some of his fellows to take the Captain. Thereupon they laid hands upon him; but he being a brave, stout gentleman, drew his sword and freed himself, but not without fourteen wounds. This disaster forced him to make all possible haste to Virginia, to be cured of his wounds. At the second return he had the misfortune to fall sick and die of the infirmity many of our nation are subject unto at their first coming into those parts. The loss of this man, I confess, much troubled me, and had almost made me resolve never to intermeddle in any of those courses.*

CHAPTER XVI.

The reasons of endeavoring to renew our first Patent, and to establish the form of Government by way of Corporation at Plymouth.

After I had made so many trials of the state and commodities of the country, and nature and condition of the people, and found all things agreeable to the ends I aimed

* Dormer performed the voyage from Monhegan to Virginia in an open pinnace, in the summer of 1619. He was the first English navigator who sailed through Long Island sound and the East river, into the harbor of New York, and thence by the Narrows and Sandy Hook, towards the south; and having by this means ascertained that Long Island was not a part of the mainland, he has enjoyed the credit of that discovery; but the Dutch had explored the Sound several years before and were already established on Manhattan island. A letter from Captain Dormer to Pur-

at from the first, I thought it sorted with reason and justice to use the like diligence, order and care for our affairs in the Northern Plantation, the Company of Virginia for the Southern, with some alteration of the form of government, as more proper (in our judgment) for affairs of that kind, and like enlargement of the borders, beginning where they ended at forty degrees, and from thence to forty-eight northwards, and into the land from sea to sea. Of this my resolution I was bold to offer the sounder considerations to divers of his Majesty's honorable Privy Council, who had so good liking thereunto, as they willingly became interested themselves therein as patentees and counsellors for the managing of the business; by whose favors I had the easier passage in the obtaining his Majesty's royal charter to be granted us, according to his warrant to the then Solicitor General, the true copy whereof followeth, viz.

To Sir Thomas Coventry, Knight, his Majesty's Solicitor General:

Whereas it is thought fit that a Patent of Incorporation be granted to the adventurers of the Northern Colony in Virginia, to contain the like liberties, privileges, power, authorities, lands and all other things within their limits, namely, between the degrees of forty and forty-eight, as were heretofore granted to the company in Virginia, excepting only that whereas the said Company have a freedom of custom and subsidy for twenty-one years, and of impositions forever, this new Company is to be free of custom and subsidy for the like term of years, and of impositions after so long time as his Majesty shall please to grant unto them. This shall be therefore to will and require you to prepare a Patent ready for his Majesty's royal signature to the purpose aforesaid, leaving a blank for the time of freedom from im-

chas, describing this voyage, is reprinted in 1 *New York Historical Collections*, (new Series,) pp. 343-354. Prince, 64. Holmes. *Am. Annals*, A. D. 1619.

position, to be supplied and put in by his Majesty; for which this shall be your warrant. Dated 23d July, 1620.

Signed by the

Lord Chancellor.	Lord Digby.
Lord Privy Seal.	Mr. Comptroller.
Earl of Arundell.	Mr. Secretary Naunton.
Mr. Secretary Calvert.	Master of the Wards.
Master of the Rolls.	

CHAPTER XVII.

Showing the troubles I underwent by the reason of the Company of Virginia's exceptions, taken at the Patent granted by the Lords and others for the Affairs of New-England.

I have briefly given you an account of the failings and disasters of what hath passed in those my former and foreign undertakings. I will now (with your patience) let you see some of my troubles I met with where I might have hoped for a comfortable encouragement. But such is (we commonly see) the condition of human nature, that what is well intended and confidently pursued by a public spirit, is notwithstanding sometimes by others made subject to exceptions, and so prosecuted as a matter worthy of reprehension. So fared it with me at this present. For I had no sooner passed the Patent under the great seal, but certain of the Company of Virginia took exceptions thereat as conceiving it tended much to their prejudice, in that they were debarred the intermeddling within our limits, who had formerly excluded us from having to do with theirs. Hereupon several complaints were made to the King and Lords of the Privy Council, who, after many deliberate hearings and large debate on both sides, saw no cause wherefore we should not enjoy what the King had granted us, as well as they what the King had granted them, especially having obtained from him so many gracious favors over and above our aims; as namely, several free gifts, divers great salaries, and other great advantages, to the value (as I have understood) of five or six hundred thou-

sand pounds; whereas our ambition only aimed at the enjoying of his Majesty's favor and justice to protect and support us in our freedoms, that we might peaceably reap the benefits of God's gracious gifts, raised by our own industries, without any of their help or hinderances; our desires being so fair that all that were not over partial easily assented thereunto, and ordered it accordingly, as by the same it may appear. But that could not satisfy; for I was plainly told, that howsoever I had sped before the Lords, I should hear more of it the next Parliament, assuring me that they would have three hundred voices more than I. Whereupon I replied, If justice could be overthrown by voices, it should not grieve me to lose what I had so honestly gotten. The next Parliament was no sooner assembled [1621,] but I found it too true wherewith I was formerly threatened, as you may see it following.

CHAPTER XVIII.

My being summoned to appear in the House of Parliament to answer what was to be objected against the Patent of New-England.

The whole House being dissolved into a Committee, Sir Edward Cook being in the chair, I was called for to the bar, where, after some space, it pleased him to tell me that the House understood that there was a Patent granted to me and divers other noble persons therein nominated, for the establishing of a colony in New-England. This (as it seems) was a grievance of the Commonwealth, and so complained of, in respect of many particulars therein contained contrary to the laws and privileges of the subjects, as also that it was a monopoly, and the color of planting a colony put upon it for particular ends and private gain, which the House was to look unto, and to minister justice to all parties; assuring me further, that I should receive nothing but justice, and that the House would do no wrong to any; that I was a gentleman of honor and worth, but the public was to be respected before all particulars. But before they could

descend to other matters in the business, the Patent was to be brought into the House; therefore he required the delivery of it.

To this general charge and special command I humbly replied, that for my own part I was but a particular person, and inferior to many to whom the Patent was granted, having no power to deliver it without their assents; neither in truth was it in my custody. But being demanded who had it, I answered that it remained still (for aught I knew) in the Crown Office, where it was left since the last Parliament; for that it was resolved to be renewed for the amendment of some faults contained therein; from whence, if it pleased the House, they might command it, and dispose thereof as their wisdoms thought it good. But to the general charge I know not (under favor) how any action of that kind could be a grievance to the public, seeing at first it was undertaken for the advancement of religion, the enlargement of the bounds of our nation, the increase of trade, and the employment of many thousands of all sorts of people.

That I conceived it could not be esteemed a monopoly, though it is true at the first discovery of the coast few were interested in the charge thereof, for many could not be drawn to adventure in actions of that kind where they were assured of loss, and small hopes of gain.

And indeed so many adventures had been made, and so many losses sustained and received, that all or the most part that tasted thereof grew weary, till now it is found by our constant perseverance therein, that some profit, by a course of fishing upon that coast, may be made extraordinary; which was never intended to be converted to private uses by any grant obtained by us from his Majesty, as by the several offers made to all the maritime cities and towns in the Western parts, that pleased to partake of the liberties and immunities granted to us by his Majesty; which was desired principally for our warrant to regulate those affairs, the better to settle the public Plantation by the profits to be raised by such as sought the benefit thereof; being no more in effect than many private gentlemen and

lords of manors within our own countries enjoyed at this present, and that both agreeable to the laws and justice of our nation without offence to the subjects' liberties. But for my particular, I was glad of the present occasion that had so happily called them together from all parts of the kingdom, to whom I was humbly bold, in the behalf of myself and the rest of those intrusted in the Patent, to make present proffer thereof to the House for the general estate of the whole kingdom, so they would prosecute the settling the Plantation, as from the first was intended; wherein we would be their humble servants in all that lay in our power, without looking back to the great charge that had been expended in the discovery and seizure of the coast, and bringing it to the pass it was come unto. That what was more to be said to the Patent for the present, I humbly prayed I might receive in particular, to the end I might be the better furnished to give them answer thereunto by my counsel, at such time they pleased to hear me again, being confident I should not only have their approbation in the further prosecuting so well-grounded a design, but their furtherance also. Howsoever, I was willing to submit the whole to their honorable censures. Hereupon it was ordered, that the Patent should be looked into by a committee assigned for that purpose, and the exceptions taken against it delivered to me, that had a prefixed day to attend them again with my counsel at law to answer to those their objections.

CHAPTER XIX.

My second appearance, with my Counsel.

THE time assigned being come, and I not receiving their objections (as by the House it was ordered) I attended without my counsel, in that I wanted upon which to build my instructions for preparing them, as in duty I ought. But being called, I humbly told them, that in obedience to their commands, I attended to receive the House's objections

against the Patent of New-England; but it was not yet come to my hands. Where the fault was I knew not, and therefore I besought them to assign me a new day, and to order I might have it delivered to me as was intended. Or otherwise, if they so pleased, I was ready without my counsel to answer what could be objected, doubting they might conceive I sought by delays to put off the business. To this it was answered by Sir Edward Cooke, that I had gained great favor of the House to receive the particulars in writing, by which I was able to plead my own cause (though as yet I had it not.) But I acknowledged the greatness of their favors, and attended their further commands, according to the time assigned.

CHAPTER XX.

My appearance the third time, together with my Counsel at Law.

HAVING received the House's exceptions against the Patent, I drew up my full answers to every particular, and entertained for my counsel Mr. Finch of Gray's Inn (since that the Lord Finch,) and Mr. Caltrup, afterwards Attorney General of the Court of Wards. To these I delivered my instructions, assigning them to proceed accordingly. But, as in great causes before great states, where the Court seems to be a party, counsel oftentimes is shy of wading farther than with their safety they may return. However both did so well, the one for the matter of justice, the other for the matter of law, as in common judgment the objections were fully answered; and they seeming to be at a stand, the House demanded of me what I had more to say myself. I being sensible wherein my counsel came short of my intentions, besought the House to take into their grave considerations, that the most part of the fishermen spoken of had, in obedience to his Majesty's royal grant, conformed themselves thereunto, and I hoped that they were but particular persons that opposed themselves against it. But admit all of them had joined together, yet had that belonged rather to

the Council for those affairs to have complained of them for the many injuries and outrages done by them. That the Council, of their own charge and cost, had first discovered that goodly coast, and found that hopeful means to settle a flourishing Plantation for the good of this kingdom in general, as well great lords as knights, esquires, gentlemen, merchants, fishermen, tradesmen, husbandmen, laborers, and the like, and that both to honor and profit. That the enlargement of the King's dominions, with the advancement of religion in those desert parts, are matters of highest consequence, and far exceeding a simple and disorderly course of fishing, which would soon be given over, for that so goodly a coast could not be long left unpeopled by the French, Spanish, or Dutch; so that if the Plantation be destroyed, the fishing is lost, and then the profit and honor of our nation must perish (in all opinion) both to present and future ages, which these men principally aimed at. That the mischief already sustained by those disorderly persons, are inhumane and intolerable; for, first, in their manners and behavior they are worse than the very savages, impudently and openly lying with their women, teaching their men to drink drunk, to swear and blaspheme the name of God, and in their drunken humor to fall together by the ears, thereby giving them occasion to seek revenge. Besides, they cozen and abuse the savages in trading and trafficking, selling them salt covered with butter instead of so much butter, and the like cozenages and deceits, both to bring the planters and all our nation into contempt and disgrace, thereby to give the easier passage to those people that dealt more righteously with them; that they sell unto the savages muskets, fowling-pieces, powder, shot, swords, arrow-heads, and other arms, wherewith the savages slew many of those fishermen, and are grown so able and so apt, as they become most dangerous to the planters. And I concluded,

That in this particular I had been drawn, out of my zeal to my country's happiness, to engage my estate so deeply as I had done; and having but two sons I adventured the life of one of them (who is there at this present) for the

better advancement thereof, (with others of his kinsmen of his own name, with many other private friends,) which so nearly concerned me, that if I did express more passion than ordinary in the delivery thereof, I hoped the House would be pleased to pardon me; affirming, that if I should do less, I might appear willing to suffer them to perish by my negligence, connivance, improvidence or ungratefulness, to the dishonor of my nation, and burden of my own conscience. But these things being considered, I presume the honorable assembly will do what in all respects shall be both just and lawful, and that in confidence thereof, I will cease to be further troublesome.

CHAPTER XXI.

What followed upon my Answer to the House's Exceptions.

BEING persuaded in my own understanding, as well as in the judgment of those that accompanied me, I had sufficiently satisfied the most part of the House,—the rather for that they forbade the lawyers to speak any more, after I began to deliver what I had to say for myself,—with this hope I departed, attending the success, but understanding (from those that were favorers and parties with me) that my opposites held their resolutions to make it a public grievance, and for such to present it to his Majesty.

Hereupon I thought it became me to use my best means his Majesty might have sight of their exceptions and my answers, which accordingly was performed. So that at the time the House presented the public grievances of the kingdom, that of the Patent of New-England was the first. Wherein was declared, that having heard me and my learned counsel several days, but that I could not defend the same; which the King observing was a little moved, finding the matter was made greater than the cause required. This their public declaration of the House's dislike of the cause shook of all my adventurers for plantation, and made many of the patentees to quit their interest, so

that in all likelihood I must fall under the weight of so heavy a burden. But the justness of my cause being truly apprehended by the King, from which I understood he was not to be drawn to overthrow the Corporation he so much approved of in his own judgment, and I was wished not to omit the prosecution thereof, as cause required. But I thought better to forbear for the present, in honor and respect of what had passed in so public a manner between the King and his House of Commons; who, shortly after, upon several reasons, rising from particular persons, who (as it seemed) were more liberal in their language than became them, trenching farther upon the King's prerogative power, he thought to be tolerated, as doubting of the consequence thereof. Whereupon the Parliament was dismissed, divers of those free speakers committed to the Tower, others to other prisons; so that now I was called upon to attend those affairs on several accidents that happened. As first, for that the French ambassador made challenge to those territories granted us by the King our sovereign, in the behalf of the King of France, his master, as belonging to his subjects, that by his authority were possessed thereof, as a part of Nova France. To which I was commanded by the King to give answer to the ambassador his claim, which was sent me from the Lord Treasurer, under the title of *Le Memorial de Monsieur Seigneur le Conte de Tillieres, Ambassadeur pour le Roy de France.* Whereunto I made so full a reply (as it seems) there was no more heard of that their claim.

But as Captain Dormer, who (as I said) was coasting that country, met with some Hollanders that were settled in a place we call Hudson's river, in trade with the natives; who, in the right of our Patent, forbade them the place, as being by his Majesty appointed to us. Their answer was, they understood no such thing, nor found any of our nation there, so that they hoped they had not offended. However, this their communication removed them not, but upon our complaining of their intrusion to his Majesty, order was given to his ambassadors to deal with the States, to know

by what warrant any of their subjects took upon them to settle within those limits by him granted to his subjects, who were royally seized of a part thereof. To which was answered, that they knew of no such thing. If there were any, it was without their authority, and that they only had enacted the Company for the affairs of the West Indies. This answer being returned, made us to prosecute our business, and to resolve of the removing of those interlopers, to force them to submit to the government of those to whom that place belonged. Thus you may see how many burthens I travailed under of all sides, and yet not come near my journey's end.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the descent of Mr. Peirce, Mr. Day, others their associates, within our limits, being bound for Virginia.

BEFORE the unhappy controversy happened between those of Virginia and myself (as you have heard), they were forced through the great charge they had been at, to hearken to any propositions that might give ease and furtherance to so hopeful a business. To that purpose, it was referred to their considerations how necessary it was that means might be used to draw into those enterprises some of those families that had retired themselves into Holland for scruple of conscience, giving them such freedom and liberty as might stand with their likings. This advice being hearkened unto, there were that undertook the putting it in practice, and accordingly brought it to effect so far forth, as that the three ships (such as their weak fortunes were able to provide), whereof two proved unserviceable and so were left behind, the third with great difficulty recovered the coast of New-England [December, 1620], where they landed their people, many of them weak and feeble through the length of the navigation, the leakiness of the ship, and want of many other necessaries such undertakings required. But they were not many days ashore before they had gotten

both health and strength, through the comfort of the air, the store of fish and fowl, with plenty of wholesome roots and herbs the country afforded; besides the civil respect the natives used towards them, tending much to their happiness in so great extremity they were in. After they had well considered the state of their affairs, and found that the authority they had from the Company of Virginia could not warrant their abode in that place, which they found so prosperous and pleasing to them, they hastened away their ship, with order to their Solicitor to deal with me, to be a means they might have a grant from the Council of New-England's affairs to settle in the place; which was accordingly performed to their particular satisfaction and good content of them all; which place was after called New Plymouth, where they have continued ever since very peaceable, and in plenty of all necessaries that nature needeth, if that could satisfy our vain affections. Where I will leave them for the present.*

* The patent to John Peirce and others in behalf of the Colony at Plymouth, is the one referred to in this chapter. The original instrument was found at Plimton, Mass. in 1741, and deposited in the Land Office at Boston, where it was seen by Judge Davis, who has described its leading features in the appendix to his excellent edition of Morton's *Memorial*, pp. 361–2. It bore the seals and signatures of the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Warwick, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Recently searches have been made for this instrument at the Land Office without success, and Dr. Young conjectures that it is now lost. *Chron. Pilgrims.* 235. It was never printed.

This is without doubt the patent referred to in the certificate or declaration of Samuel Welles, of Boston, published in Willis's *History of Portland*, 1 Maine Historical Collections, p. 13. When discovered at Plimton, the original instrument was placed in the hands of Mr. Welles, who seems to have been one of the commissioners to settle the boundary line between Massachusetts and Rhode Island at that period. Cotton's *MS. Diary*, cited by Judge Davis. As it was general in its terms, granting land in any part of New-England not already granted, this patent easily admitted of being applied to lands in Maine; but there is no reason to suppose that it was used for that purpose by Peirce, much less that he ever settled at Pemaquid, as stated in the certificate of Welles; indeed he does not appear to have visited New-England, although he once made the attempt, but was driven back by bad weather. The use made, or intended to be made of this patent, in the last century, was probably fraudulent.

CHAPTER XXIII.

My son Captain Robert Gorges sent by authority of the Council for those Affairs, as their Lieutenant General.

THE several complaints made to the Council of the abuses committed by several the fishermen, and other interlopers, who without order from them frequented those coasts, tending to the scorn of our nation, both to the ordinary mixing themselves with their women, and other beastly demeanors, tending to drunkenness, to the overthrow of our trade, and dishonor of the government.

For reformation whereof, and to prevent the evils that may ensue, they were pleased to resolve of the sending some one into those parts as their Lieutenant, to regulate the estate of their affairs and those abuses. Hereupon my son Robert Gorges, being newly come out of the Venetian war, was the man they were pleased to pitch upon, being one of the Company, and interested in a proportion of the land with the rest of the Patentees in the Bay of the Majechewsett, containing ten miles in breadth and thirty miles into the main land; who, between my Lord Gorges and myself, was speedily sent away into the said Bay of Massechewset, where he arrived about the beginning of August following, anno 1623, that being the place he resolved to make his residence, as proper for the public as well as for his private; where landing his provisions and building his storehouses, he sent to them of New Plymouth (who by his commission were authorized to be his assistants) to come unto him, who willingly obeyed his order, and as carefully discharged their duties; by whose experience he suddenly understood what was to be done with the poor means he had, believing the supplies he expected would follow according to the undertakings of divers his familiar friends who had promised as much. But they, hearing how I sped in the House of Parliament, withdrew themselves; and

myself and friends were wholly disabled to do any thing to purpose. The report of these proceedings with us coming to my son's ears, he was advised to return home till better occasion should offer itself unto him.

Here follows my son Captain Gorges' Patent.

To all to whom these Presents shall come, the Council for the Affairs of New-England in America send Greeting:

WHEREAS it hath pleased the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by his royal grant bearing date the third day of November, in the eighteenth year of his Majesty's reign over this his Highness's realm of England, &c., for divers causes therein expressed, absolutely to give, grant, and confirm unto us, the said Council and our successors, all the foresaid land of New-England, lying and being from forty to forty-eight degrees of northerly latitude, and in length by all that breadth aforesaid, from sea to sea throughout the main land, together with all the woods, waters, rivers, soils, havens, harbors, islands, and other commodities whatsoever thereunto belonging, with all privileges, pre-eminences, profits and liberties by sea and land, as by the said grant, amongst other things therein contained, more at large appeareth:—Now know all men by these presents, that we the Council of New-England, for and in respect of the good and special service done by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, to the Plantation, from the first attempt thereof unto this present, as also for many other causes as hereunto moving, and likewise for and in consideration of the payment of one hundred and sixty pounds of lawful English money unto the hands of our Treasurer by Robert Gorges, son of the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, whereof, and of every part and parcel whereof, the said Robert Gorges, his heirs, executors and assigns are forever acquitted and discharged by these presents, have given, granted and confirmed, and by these presents do give, grant and confirm unto the said Robert Gorges, his heirs and assigns forever, all that part of the main land in New England aforesaid, commonly called or known by the name of Messachusiack, situate, lying and being upon the northeast side of the Bay called or known by the name of Massachuset, or by what other name or names soever it be or shall be called or known, together with all the shores and coasts along the sea for ten English miles in a straight line towards the northeast, accounting one thousand seven hundred sixty yards to the mile, and thirty English miles (after the same rate) unto the main land through all the breadth aforesaid, together with all the islets and islands lying within three miles of any part of the said lands (except such islands as are formerly granted), together also with all the lands, rivers, mines and minerals, woods, quarries, marshes, waters, lakes, fishings, huntings, fowlings, and commodities and hereditaments whatsoever, with all and singular their appurtenances, together with all prerogatives, rights, jurisdictions and royalties, and power of judicature in all causes and matters whatsoever, criminal, capital and civil arising, or which may hereafter arise within the limits, bounds and precincts aforesaid, to be executed according to the Great Charter of England, and such laws as shall

be hereafter established by public authority of the State assembled in Parliament in New-England, to be executed and exercised by the said Robert Gorges, his heirs and assigns, or his or their deputies, lieutenants, judges, stewards or other officers thereunto by him or them assigned, deputed or appointed from time to time, with all other privileges, franchises, liberties and immunities, with escheats and casualties thereof arising, or which shall or may hereafter arise within the said limits and precincts, with all the interest, right, title, claim and demand whatsoever, which we the said Council and our successors now of right have or ought to have and claim, or may have or acquire hereafter, in or to the said portion of lands, or islands, or any the premises, in as free, ample, large and beneficial manner, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever, as we the said Council by his Majesty's said letters patent may or can grant the same, saving and always reserving unto the said Council, and their successors, and to the Court of Parliament hereafter to be in New England aforesaid, and to either of them, power to receive, hear and determine all and singular appeal and appeals of every person and persons whatsoever, dwelling or inhabiting within the said territories and islands, or either or any of them, to the said Robert Gorges granted as aforesaid, of and from all judgments and sentences whatsoever given within the said territories,—to have and to hold all and every the lands and premises above by these presents granted (except before excepted) with their and every of their appurtenances, with all the royalties, jurisdictions, mines, minerals, woods, fishing, fowling, hunting, waters, rivers, and all other profits, commodities and hereditaments whatsoever, within the precincts aforesaid, or to the said lands, islands or premises, or any of them in any wise belonging or appertaining, to the said Robert Gorges, his heirs and assigns forever, to the only proper use and behoof of the said Robert Gorges, his heirs and assigns for evermore ; to be held of the said Council, and their successors, *per Gladium Comitatus*, that is to say, by finding four able men, conveniently armed or arrayed for the wars, to attend upon the Governor for any service within fourteen days after warning, and yielding and paying unto the said Council one fiftieth part of all the ore of the mines of gold and silver which shall be had, possessed and obtained within the precincts aforesaid, for all services and demands whatsoever, to be delivered into the Tower of London in England, to and for the use of his Majesty, his heirs and successors from time to time. And lastly know ye, that we the said Council have deputed, authorized and appointed, and in our place and stead have put David Thomson, Gent., or in his absence any other person that shall be their Governor, or other officer unto the said Council, to be our true and lawful attorney and attorneys, and in our name and stead to enter into the said lands, and other the premises with their appurtenances, or into some part thereof, in the name of the whole, for us and in our names to have and take possession and seisin thereof, and after such possession and seisin thereof, or of some other part thereof had and taken, then for us and in our name to deliver the same unto the said Robert Gorges or his heirs, or to his or their certain attorney or attorneys, to be by him or his heirs appointed in that behalf, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents, ratifying confirming and allowing all

and whatsoever our attorney or attorneys shall do in or about the premises, or in part thereof by virtue of these presents. In witness whereof, we have affixed our common seal, the thirtieth day of December, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, James, by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c., the twentieth, and of Scotland the fifty-sixth.*

LENOX, HAMILTON,
ARRUNDELL, SURREY,
BARN. GOACH,
ROBERT MANSELL,
WI. BOLES.

*THE following document relates to this patent, and is the same referred to in Mr. Folsom's Discourse, p. 47 as having been recently discovered among the State Records of Massachusetts:

"King James the 1st, on the third of November, in the 18th year of his reign, (vizt.) in the year 1620, by Letters Patent, granted unto the Council for the affairs of New England and their successors. All the land of New England lying and being from 40 to 48° degrees of North Latitude, and in length by that breadth aforesaid from sea to sea thro' the Main Land, together with all Islands, woods, minnes, quarries, &c.

"The said Council, for a consideration, by deed bearing date the 30th December, in the 20th of King James, (vizt.) 1622, granted unto Robert Gorges, youngest son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, and his heirs, All that part of the Main Land in New England, commonly called or known by the name of Massachusetts, or by what other name or names whatsoever called, with all coasts and shoars along the sea, for ten English miles in a straight line towards the North East, accounting 1760 yards to the mile, and thirty English miles after the same rate into the mayne land thro' all the breadth aforesaid, together with all islands, &c, lying within three miles of any part of said land.

"Robert Gorges dies without issue; the said lands descend to John Gorges his eldest brother. John Gorges, by deed bearing date 10th January, 1628, 4 Car. I., grants to Sir William Brereton, of Handforth, in the County of Chester, Baronet, and his heirs, All the Lands in breadth lying from the east side of Charles River to the easterly part of the Cape called Nahannte, and all the Lands lying in length twenty miles North East into the Main Land from the mouth of the said Charles River; lying also in length twenty miles into the main land North East from the said Cape Nahannte; also two islands lying next unto the shoare between Nahannte and Charles River, the bigger called Brente, and the lesser Susanna.

"Sir William Brereton dyes, leaving Thomas his only son, afterwards Sir Thomas, and Susanna his daughter. Sir Thomas dies without issue; Susanna marries Edmund Lenthall, Esq., and dyes, leaving Mary her only daughter and heire.

"Mary is married to Mr. Levett of the Inner Temple, who claims the said Lands in right of Mary his wife, who is heire to Sir William Brereton and Sir Thomas Brereton.

"Sir William Brereton sent over several families and servants, who possessed and improved severall large tracts of said lands, and made severall leases, as appears by the said deeds, &c." *Copied from MS. Records of Massachusetts.*

"The statements contained in this document, (which is now printed for the first time,) are partially confirmed by the following extracts from the Records of the Massachusetts Company, containing the proceedings of the Company at a meeting held in London, March 5th, 1628; present, the Governor, the deputy Governor, the treasurer and six members:—"A proposition being made by Sir William Brereton to the Governor, of a patent granted him of lands in the Massachusetts Bay by Mr. John Gorges, and that if this Company would make him a promise, so as he consent to underwrite with this Company, it might not be prejudicial to his patent, it was resolved this answer should be given him, namely, that if he please to underwrite with us without any condition whatsoever, but come in as all adventurers do, he should be welcome upon the same conditions that we have." Young's *Chron. Mass.* 51, 52.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Captain John Mason the means of interesting the Scottish nation into that of New Scotland.

CAPTAIN John Mason was himself a man of action, and had been some time Governor of a Plantation in the Newfound-land. His time being expired there, he returned into England, where he met with Sir William Alexander, who

Again; at "A General Court, holden at Mr. Goff's house, [in London,] on Wednesday, the 10th of February, 1629, Present, Mr. John Winthrop, Governor, Mr. John Humfry, Deputy," and many others, the following notice was taken of the same matter:—"Motion was made on the behalf of Sir William Brewerton, who by virtue of a late patent pretends right and title to some part of the land within the Company's privileges and Plantation in New England; yet nevertheless he is content not to contest with the Company, but desires that a proportionable quantity of land might be allotted unto him for the accommodation of his people and servants, now to be sent over, which request the Court taking into consideration, do not think fit to enter into any particular capitulation with him therein, nor to set out any allotment of land for him more than the six hundred acres he is to have by virtue of his adventure in the joint stock, nor to acknowledge anything due unto him as of right, by virtue of his said patent, nor to give any consideration in case he should relinquish his pretended right; but they are well content he should join with them in the prosecution of this business, according to their Charter, and do promise in the meantime that such servants as he shall send over to inhabit upon the Plantation, shall receive all courteous respect, and be accommodated with land, and what else shall be necessary, as other the servants of the Company. Which answer was delivered unto those that were sent from him; and the Court desired also that Capt. Waller and Mr. Eaton would signify the Company's affection and due respect unto him, he having written to them about this business." *Ibid.* 122, 123.

Sir William Brereton was subsequently distinguished in the civil wars as a brave and successful general officer. It does not appear that he contested the decision of the Company in reference to his patent, nor that he acquiesced in it.

There was another claim under the grant to Robert Gorges, that gave the Mass. Company still more trouble than the title of Sir William Brereton. It was founded upon a lease to John Oldham, which is thus described in a letter of instructions from the Company to Endicott, dated April 17th, 1629:—

"I find Mr. Oldham's grant from Mr. Gorge is to him and John Dorrel, for all the lands within Mattachusetts Bay, between Charles river and Abousett [Saugus] river, containing in length by a straight line five miles up the said Charles river into the main land northwest from the border of said bay, including all creeks and points by the way, and three miles in length from the mouth of the foresaid river of Abousett, up into the main land, upon a straight line southwest, including all creeks and points, and all the land in breadth and length between the foresaid rivers, with all prerogatives, royal mines excepted. The rent reserved is twelve pence on every hundred acres of land that shall be used; William Blaxton, clerk, and William Jeffryes, gentlemen, authorized to put John Oldham in possession. Having a sight of his grant, this I found. Though I hold it void in law, yet his claim being to this, you may in your discretion prevent him by causing some to take possession of the chiefe part thereof." Young's *Chron. Mass.* 169, 170—1. This part of the letter to Endicott, in which the writer uses the singular number, is supposed by Dr. Young to have been written by Cradock, then governor of the Company.

was Master of Requests to his Majesty for the realm of Scotland, but since Earl of Stirling, who, hearing of Captain Mason's late coming out of the New-found-land, was desirous to be acquainted with him. To that end he invited him to his house, and after he had thoroughly informed himself of the estate of that country, he declared his affection to plantation, and wished the Captain to be a means to procure him a grant of the Planters thereof for a portion of land with them; who effected what he desired. The Captain, understanding how far forth I had proceeded in the business of New-England, advised him to deal with me for a part of what we might conveniently spare, without our prejudice, within the bounds of our grant. Sir William Alexander, intending to make himself sure of his purpose, procured his Majesty (for what could they not do in those times in such cases?) to send to me to assign him a part of our territories. His Majesty's gracious message as to me was a command agreeing with his pleasure to have it so. Whereupon an instrument was presently drawn for the bounding thereof, which was to be called New Scotland, which afterwards was granted him by the King under the seal of Scotland. Thus much I thought fit to insert by the way, that posterity might know the ground from whence business of that nature had their original.

CHAPTER XXV.

Lieutenant Colonel Norton undertaking to settle a Plantation on the river of Agomentico, if I pleased to bear a part with him and his associates.

THIS gentleman was one I had long known, who had raised himself from a soldier to the quality he had, from a

Oldham soon after settled at Watertown, probably within the boundaries of his grant, where he resided until his violent death at the hands of the Indians in 1636. He represented that town in the first legislative assembly of Massachusetts. He was also a co-patentee with Richard Vines in the tract now constituting the town of Biddeford, of which legal possession was taken by them in the summer of 1630. For a further account of him, see *Hist. Saco and Biddeford*, pp. 30. 32. 66. Blackstone and Jeffreys were early inhabitants at Mass. Bay, and are supposed to have come over with Rob. Gorges. Young's *Chron Mass.* 169.

corporal to a sergeant, and so upward. He was painful and industrious, well understanding what belonged to his duties in whatsoever he undertook, and strongly affected to the business of plantation. Having acquainted me of his designs and of his associates, I gave him my word I would be his intercessor to the Lords for obtaining him a Patent for any place he desired, not already granted to any other. But conceiving he should be so much the better fortified, if he could get me to be an undertaker with him and his associates, upon his motion I was contented my grandson Ferdinando should be nominated together with him and the rest; to whom was passed a Patent of twelve thousand acres of land upon the east side of the river Agomentico, and twelve thousand of acres more of land on the west side to my said son Ferdinando. Hereupon he and some of his associates hastened to take possession of their territories, carrying with them their families, and other necessary provisions; and I sent over for my son, my nephew Captain William Gorges, who had been my lieutenant in the fort of Plymouth, with some other craftsmen for the building of houses and erecting of saw-mills; and by other shipping from Bristol, some cattle, with other servants,— by which the foundation of the Plantation was laid. And I was the more hopeful of the happy success thereof, for that I had not far from that place Richard Vines, a gentleman and servant of my own, who was settled there some years before, and had been interested in the discovery and seizure thereof for me, as formerly hath been related; by whose diligence and care those my affairs had the better success, as more at large will appear in its proper place.*

* Dr. Belknap assigns the date of this settlement at Agamenticus, now York, to the year 1623; and he is followed in this particular by others. 1 Am. Biog. 378. 6 Mass. Hist. Coll. 3d series, p. 79. Hist. Saco and Bid. 21. But this is evidently a mistake; for Edward Godfrey, the able champion of the rights of the Lord Proprietor, states in a petition to the legislature of Massachusetts, that he was "the first that ever built or settled" at that place, and that he had then (1654) resided there for twenty-four years. Me. His. Coll. Doc. Ser. 4: 121.[4] Moreover, there is no reason to suppose that either Col. Norton, or Capt. William Gorges, came over before

CHAPTER XXVI.

What followed the breaking up of the Parliament in such discontent.

THE King, not pleased with divers the passages of some particular persons, who in their speeches seemed to trench

1635. There is a letter in the appendix (No. VII) to Belknap's History of New Hampshire, from Sir F. Gorges and John Mason, to their agents on the Piscataqua, dated at Portsmouth, Eng. May 5, 1634, in which they are desired to consult with "Capt. Norton and Mr. Godfrey;" but the letter probably refers to Capt. Walter Norton, who at that time was an inhabitant of Agamenticus. He died soon after, for his widow, Mrs. Eleanor Norton, was married to William Hooke, Esq. one of the Provincial Council of Maine, in 1640.

Lieut. Col. Norton mentioned in the text is without doubt the same person referred to in the following extract from Belknap's *New Hampshire*:— "After the death of Capt. Mason, [Nov. 26th, 1635] his widow and executrix sent over Francis Norton as her "general attorney;" to whom she committed the whole management of the estate. But the expense so far exceeded the income, and the servants grew so impatient for their arrears, that she was obliged to relinquish the care of the plantation, and tell the servants that they must shift for themselves. Upon which they shared the goods and cattle. Norton drove above a hundred oxen to Boston, and there sold them for twenty-five pounds sterling per head, which it is said was the current price of the best cattle in New England at that time. These were of a large breed, imported from Denmark, from whence Mason had also procured a number of men skilled in sawing planks and making potashes." Vol. 1. p. 37. 2*d ed.*

Josselyn states that, "in 1635, Capt. W. Gorges was sent over Governor of the Province of Maine, then called New Somersetshire." He was present at a meeting of the Commissioners of the Province, held at Saco, March 25th, 1636. *Hist. Saco and Bid.* 49. It is probable that Col. Norton accompanied him. This gentleman seems, however, to have been occupied with the settlement of Mason's affairs at Piscataqua; and after the abandonment of his plantation, as described by Dr. Belknap, he removed to Charlestown, Mass., where he continued to reside until his death, which occurred on the 27th July, 1667. Frothingham, *Hist. Charlestown*, 86. His military character, of which Gorges speaks so highly, shone conspicuously in his new residence, where he commanded the "train-band" of the town. Johnson styles him "Capt. Lieut. Francis Norton," and says that he was "a man of bold and cheerful spirit, being will disciplined, and an able man." *Wonder Working Providence.* Chap. 26. He was several years one of the selectmen of the town, and its representative in the colonial legislature. Frothingham. 86.

farther on his royal prerogative than stood with his safety and honor to give way unto, suddenly brake off the Parliament. Whereby divers were so fearful what would follow so unaccustomed an action, some of the principal of those liberal speakers being committed to the Tower, others to other prisons—which took all hope of reformation of Church government from many not affecting Episcopal jurisdiction, nor the usual practice of the common prayers of the Church, whereof there were several sorts, though not agreeing among themselves, yet all of like dislike of those particulars. Some of the discreeter sort, to avoid what they found themselves subject unto, made use of their friends to procure from the Council for the Affairs of New-England to settle a colony within their limits; to which it pleased the thrice-honored Lord of Warwick to write to me, then at Plymouth, to condescend that a Patent might be granted to such as then sued for it. Whereupon I gave my approbation so far forth as it might not be prejudicial to my son Robert Gorges' interests, whereof he had a Patent under the seal of the Council. Hereupon there was a grant passed as was thought reasonable; but the same was after enlarged by his Majesty, and confirmed under the great seal of England, by the authority whereof the undertakers proceeded so effectually, that in a very short time numbers of people of all sorts flocked thither in heaps, that at last it was specially ordered by the King's command, that none should be suffered to go without license first had and obtained, and they to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. So that what I long before prophesied, when I could hardly get any for money to reside there, was now brought to pass in a high measure. The reason of that restraint was grounded upon the several complaints, that came out of those parts, of the divers sects and schisms that were amongst them, all contemning the public government of the ecclesiastical state. And it was doubted that they would, in short time, wholly shake off the royal jurisdiction of the Sovereign Magistrate.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

Shewing the Reasons of my desire and others my Associates to resign the Grand Patent to his Majesty, and the dividing of the Sea coasts between the Lords who had continued constant favorers and followers thereof.

After I had passed all those failings in my first attempts you have heard of, and had undergone those home storms afore spoken of by those of Virginia, I would willingly have sat down in despair of what I aimed at, but was stirred up and encouraged by the most eminent of our Company, not to give over the business his Majesty did so much approve of, whose gracious favor I should not want, and whereof I had already sufficient proof. Hereupon I began again to erect my thoughts how aught might be effected to advance the weak foundation already laid, when as it so pleased God to have it, in the year 1621, after the Parliament that then sat brake off in discontent, I was solicited to consent to the passing of a Patent to certain undertakers who intended to transport themselves into those parts, with their whole families, as I showed before. The liberty they obtained thereby and the report of their well doing, drew after them multitudes of discontented persons of several sects and conditions, insomuch that they began at last to be a pester to themselves, threatening a civil war before they had established a civil form of government between themselves. And doubtless had not the patience and wisdom of Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Humphreys, Mr. Dudley, and others their assistants, been the greater, much mischief would suddenly have overwhelmed them, more than did befall them. Notwithstanding, amongst those great swarms there went many that

wanted not love and affection to the honor of the King, and happiness of their native country. However they were mixed with those that had the state of the established Church government in such scorn and contempt, as finding themselves in a country of liberty, where tongues might speak without control, many, fuller of malice than reason, spared not to speak the worst that evil affections could invent, insomuch that the distance of the place could not impeach the transportation thereof to the ears of those it most concerned, and who were bound in honor and justice to vindicate the State he was so eminent a servant unto.

Hereupon the King and his Council began to take into their serious considerations the consequences that might follow so unbridled spirits, and the Lords interested in the government of those affairs finding the King's dislike thereof, considered how to give his Majesty and his Council of State some satisfaction for the time to come, anno 1622. Thereupon it was ordered, that none should be suffered to pass into New-England, but such as did take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. This held some time, but was omitted till the year 1631; till which time, as the daily reports brought over word of their continued misdemeanors, for that at last I myself was called upon (with others) as being the supporter and author of all that was distasteful. I confessed indeed that I had earnestly sought by all means the planting of those parts by those of our own nation, and that for divers weighty considerations, approved of by the King and his Council; but could not expect that so many evils should have happened thereby. This answer served for the present, but could not wipe away the jealousy that was had of me, though I labored continually to put off the scandalous opinion of such as daily did endeavor to do me evil offices, which I found with the latest; but was thereupon moved to desire the rest of the Lords that were the principal actors in the business, that we might resign our grand patent to the King, and pass particular patents to ourselves of such parts of the country along the sea coast as might be sufficient for our own uses, and such of our private friends as had

affections to works of that nature. To this motion there was a general assent by the Lords, and a day appointed too, for the conclusion thereof. [April 25, 1635.]

CHAPTER II.

The meeting of the Lords for the dividing of the Coast.

THE time being come their Lordships had appointed, an Act was made for the resignation of the Patent, with the confirmation of our particulars, where the bounds were thus laid out: beginning from the westernmost parts of our bounds eastwards, where the Lord of Mougrave* began his limits, and ended the same at the river called Hudson's river; to the eastward of the river was placed the Duke of Lenox, since Duke of Richmond, to the end of sixty miles eastward; next to him was placed the Earl of Carlisle; next to him the Lord Edward Gorges; next to him was settled the Marquis Hamilton; next to him Captain John Mason; and lastly myself, whose bounds extended from the midst of Merrimeck to the great river of Sagadehocke, being sixty miles, and so up into the main land one hundred and twenty miles.

CHAPTER III.

The Orders that are settled for the government of my said Province.

BEING now seized of what I had travailed for above forty years, together with the expenses of many thousand pounds, and the best time of my age laden with troubles and vexations from all parts, as you have heard, I will now give you

* Lord Sheffield, created Earl of Mulgrave (anciently written *Moulgrave*) by Charles I., was an original member of the Council of Plymouth. His share in the division comprised all the territory, included in the patent of the Council, west of Hudson river.

an account in what order I have settled my affairs in that my Province of Maine, with the true form and manner of the government, according to the authority granted me by his Majesty's royal charter. First, I divided the whole into eight bailiwicks or counties, and those again into sixteen several hundreds, consequently into parishes and tithings, as people did increase and the provinces were inhabited.

CHAPTER IV.

The manner and form of the Government I have established for the ordering of the public affairs within my Province of Maine.

FIRST, in my absence I assigned one for my Lieutenant or deputy, to whom I adjoined a Chancellor for the determination of all differences arising between party and party, for *meum and tuum;* only next to him I ordained a Treasurer for receipt of the public revenue; to them I added a Marshal for the managing of the militia, who hath for his lieutenant a Judge-Marshal and other officers to the Marshal Court, where is to be determined all criminal and capital matters, with other misdemeanors or contentions for matter of honor and the like. To these I appointed an Admiral, with his lieutenant or judge, for the ordering and determining of maritime causes, whose court is only capable of what passeth between party and party, concerning trades and contracts for maritime causes, either within the province or on the seas, or in foreign parts, so far as concerns the inhabitants, their factors or servants, as is usual here in England. Next I ordered a Master of the Ordnance, whose office is to take charge of all the public stores belonging to the militia both for sea and land; to this I join a Secretary, for the public service of myself and Council. These are the Standing Counsellors. To whom is added eight deputies, to be elected by the freeholders of the several counties, as counsellors for the state of the country, who are authorized by virtue of their places to sit in any of the aforesaid courts and to be assistants to the Presidents thereof, and to give their opin-

ions according to justice, &c. That there is no matter of moment can be determined of, neither by myself, nor by my Lieutenant in my absence, but by the advice and assent of the whole body of the Council or the greater part of them, sufficiently called and summoned to the Assembly.

That no judge or other minister of state to be allowed of, but by the advice and assent of the said Council, or the greater part of them, as before.

That no alienation or sale of land be made to any, but by their counsel and assent, be it by way of gift for reward, or service, or otherwise whatsoever.

That no man to whom there hath been any grant passed of any freehold, shall alienate the same without the assent and license of the said Council, first had and obtained.

That in case any law be to be enacted, or repealed, money to be levied, or forces raised for public defence, the summons thereof to the several bailiwicks, or counties, is to be issued out in my name, but with the consent of the said Council; by virtue whereof, power is to be given to the freeholders of the said counties respectively, to elect and choose two of the most worthy within the said county as deputies for the whole, to join with the Council for performance of the service for which they were called to that assembly, all appeals made for any wrong or injustice committed by any the several officers of any the standing courts of justice, or authority of any other person or persons.

For the better ease of the inhabitants of the several bailiwicks or counties, there is assigned one lieutenant, and eight justices, to administer justice for maintenance of the public peace, according to the laws provided; these officers and justices to be chosen and allowed of by myself, or any lieutenant in my absence, with the assent of the said Council, belonging unto me.

As for the constables of the hundreds, constables of the parishes, with the several tithing-men of every parish, to be chosen by the lieutenant and justices of the several counties, to whom such oaths are to be administered, as by the Council, and myself or Lieutenant, shall be thought fit.

That every hundred shall have two head constables assigned them, and every parish one constable and four tithing men, who shall give account to the constable of the parish of the demeanor of the householders within his tithing, and of their several families. The constable of the parish shall render the same account, fairly written, to the constables of the hundred, or some of them, who shall present the same to the lieutenant and justices at their next sitting, or before if cause require, and if it be matter within the power of the lieutenant and justices to determine of, then to proceed therein according to their said authority; otherwise to commend it to myself or my Lieutenant and Council.

These few particulars I have thought fit to commend (as briefly as I can) unto all whom it may please to take notice thereof, heartily desiring they will not be sparing modestly to censure what they conceive proper to be amended, in that I chose rather to serve such whose wisdom, moderation and judgments exceed my own, than passionately or willingly to persist in my private fancy, or to be aggrieved at or envy their better judgments.

CHAPTER V.

My Answer to some Objections.

But hearing that it is objected by many, if there be such hopes of honor, profit and content in those parts, how comes it to pass that yourself have not tasted thereof in all this time, having employed so many of your own servants as by this discourse it seems you have done, and yet nothing returned. As this objection is just, so I hope a reasonable answer will satisfy any reasonable man; whom I desire in the first place to consider, that I began when there was no hopes for the present but of loss, in that I was yet to find a place, and being found, itself was in a manner dreadful to the beholders, for it seemed but as a desert wilderness,

replete only with a kind of savage people and overgrown trees. So as I found it no mean matter to procure any to go thither, much less to reside there; and those I sent knew not how to subsist, but on the provisions I furnished them withal.

Secondly, I dealt not as merchants or tradesmen are wont, seeking only to make mine own profit, my ends being to make perfect the thorough discovery of the country, (wherein I waded so far with the help of those that joined with me) as I opened the way for others to make their gain, which hath been the means to encourage their followers to prosecute it to their advantage. Lastly, I desire all that have estates here in England to remember, if they never come near their people to take accounts of their endeavors, what they gain by those courses.

Besides, when there is no settled government or ordinary course of justice, which way is left to punish offenders or misspenders of their masters' goods? Do not servants, nay sons, the like in these parts; and are they not many that misspend the estates their fathers left them? Yet I have not sped so ill (I thank my God for it), but I have a house and home there, and some necessary means of profit by my saw-mills and corn-mills, beside some annual receipts sufficient to lay a foundation for greater matters, now the government is established.

Let not therefore my evil fortunes or hindrances be a discouragement to any, seeing there are so many precedents of the happy success of those that are their own stewards, and disposers of their own affairs in those parts; nay, such as I have sent over at my own charge at first, are now able to live and maintain themselves with plenty and reputation. So, as to doubt of well doing for that another hath not prospered, or to be abused by those he trusted, is to despair without a cause, and to lose himself without trial. Thus much I presume will clear the objection made by my example, and give comfort and courage to the industrious to follow the precedents of those more able to act their own parts than I have been, for causes spoken of.

CHAPTER VI.

The Benefits that Foreign Nations have made by Plantation.

Now I will only remember some of the benefits that may arise by Plantations; and will begin with those princes, our neighbors, who have laid the way before us. But to speak of all the goods that may ensue, Plantations is a subject too large for my intention at this time, who do strive for brevity. By some of those plantations made by our neighbors, we see what greatness it hath brought them to, that have undertaken the same, as namely, the King of Spain and Portugal, the one settling himself in the parts of America called the West Indies; the other situate in Brazil, the southern part of the same continent, and that part peopled in the infancy of that plantation, as well with base and banished persons, as other noble and generous spirits; yet the success thereof hath answered their expectation. Besides, we have seen what great riches were drawn by the Portugals, by means of their several plantations in the East Indies, out of those vast and mighty princes' territories, that filled the whole world with spices and other aromatic drugs, and excellent rare curiosities, not vulgarly known to foreign and former ages in these northerly parts of the world.

Those rarities and rich commodities invited some of our nation to dive into farther search how we might partake thereof, without the favor of foreign princes; and having, after the way was once opened by private adventurers, and some relish had of the profits that might arise by those employments, the adventurers, merchants, and others, noble spirits, combined together to make it a more public business, worthy the honor of this nation and reputation of the undertakers, who having amassed a stock of many hundred thousand, entered so far into it, that the trade so began and continues to this present day, though not agreeable to the

common hopes conceived thereof. But had the ground been laid as was advised, it had grown to a far greater certainty than now it is like to have.

But the Hollanders, better experienced in martial affairs, were taught to know there is a difference between having gotten a trade and keeping it; that there is no safety in depending upon the will of another, when it is possible to secure themselves of what they had in possession. This made them fortify where they found it convenient, and so to settle the form of their government and course of trade upon such a foundation as should promise continual growth, without diminution upon change of humor of those they traded with, if left to their merciless discretion.

That by the same course they are like in short time to oust our nation of that little trade left us, who I could wish would yet in season seek how to settle a better foundation in such other places as (if I be not deceived) it is possible they may, thereby not only make good their present profits, but advance it to a far greater, and make their attempts more honorable and more safe than now they are.

But seeing I am not able to persuade men of better judgment how to manage their practical affairs, it shall content me to set out my opinion of the excellent use that may be made of those plantations we have now on foot, especially that of New-England.

CHAPTER VII.

As for those in the islands of the Virginians, it is apparent they may be made of excellent use, if handled as they ought to be, both for the present and future, whereof I will speak no more, because so well known already. That of Virginia might very well brag of itself, if the planters did but endeavor to settle some plantations further up into the main, and to travail in raising such commodities as that clime will afford for trade and commerce with their neighbors and such of our own nation as want what they have. For if I be not deceived, that clime will afford both wines

of several natures, flax, hemp, pitch and tar, if not sugars and cottons; for it cannot but be as proper for any of those commodities as any other country lying in the same clime. But these particulars depend upon the wisdom of the governors and industry of the inhabitants, to whom I commend the farther consideration and execution thereof as time and opportunity will give leave, not doubting but if they follow the sun's setting, they will meet with better things than are yet spoken of, if they be sought for.

As for that of New-England, where I am chiefly interested, by reason of the time and means I have spent in the prosecution of that business, it is easy to be observed (partly by what I have said) what commodities may be raised out of those climes, and how miraculously it hath succeeded; and we may justly conclude it hath been brought to what it is by the special grace of God alone, the more to make illustration by the manifestation of his powerful operation in effecting for us what we could not expect from his Divine goodness.

At our first discovery of those coasts, we found it very populous, the inhabitants stout and warlike, the country plentiful in grain and other fruits and roots, beside deer of all sorts and other animals for food, with plenty of fish and fowl for their sustentation; so that they could not say (according to the manner of their living) they wanted any thing nature did require.

As for their civil government, that part of the country we first seated in, seemed to be monarchical, by the name and title of a Bashaba. His extent was large, and had under him many great subjects; such as were auxiliary with them to the war, some thousand, some fifteen hundred bowmen, some more, others less; these they called sagamores. This Bashaba had many enemies, especially those to the east and northeast, whom they called Tarentines; those to the west and southwest were called Sockhigones. But the Tarentines were counted a more warlike and hardy people, and had indeed the best opportunity to make their attempts upon them, by reason of the conveniency and opportunity

of the rivers and sea, which afforded a speedy passage into the Bashaba's country, which was called Moasham; and that part of the country which lay between the Sockhigones' country and Moasham was called Apistama. The Massachisans and Bashabas were sometimes friends and sometimes enemies, as it fell out; but the Bashaba and his people seemed to be of some eminence above the rest in all that part of the continent; his own chief abode was not far from Pemaquid. But the war growing more and more violent between the Bashaba and the Tarentines, who (as it seemed) presumed upon the hopes they had to be favored of the French that were seated in Canada, their next neighbors, the Tarentines surprised the Bashaba, and slew him and all his people near about him, carrying away his women and such other matters as they thought of value. After his death, the public business running to confusion for want of a head, the rest of his great sagamores fell at variance among themselves, spoiled and destroyed each other's people and provision, and famine took hold of many; which was seconded by a great and general plague, which so violently reigned for three years together, that in a manner the greater part of that land was left desert, without any to disturb or oppose our free and peaceable possession thereof; from whence we may justly conclude that God made the way to effect his work according to the time he had assigned for laying the foundation thereof. In all which there is to be noted, the next of the Plantations, before spoken of, were not performed but by war and slaughter, and some of them with murther of so many millions of the natives as it is horror to be spoken of, especially being done by the hands of Christians, who alone of all people in the world profess the gaining of all souls to God only by preaching the Gospel of Christ Jesus, our sole Redeemer; and all this is done, as being presented persecuted, not persecuting. But let us be silent and confess that that is best done that God doth himself; and next, we must know that what he suffers to be done is not for us rashly to censure,

but to give him the glory for all, whose will we desire may be done here on as, &c.

Yet I trust we may be humbly bold to believe that when God manifesteth his assistance unto his people, he gives them cause to believe he will not leave them till they leave him.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Benefits already received, and what time and industry may produce.

As for the benefit which may arise by such Plantations, especially those our nation is in travail with at present, first we find by daily experience what numbers of shipping and mariners are employed thereby. Next, how many thousands of the subjects are transported into those parts that otherwise might have settled themselves under foreign states, to the prejudice and hindrance of our own manufacturers and overthrow of that kind of trade; whereas by planting where they do, that is not only prevented, but new trades impossible to be raised. Further, it prevents our neighbors from occupying those territories that so diligently (according to their powers) sought to possess themselves thereof, who by that means might easily (as it were) besiege us on all sides, that we should neither be southward, nor follow our fishing craft in New-found-land, or upon those coasts, but by their permission.

But the same advantage, by means of those Plantations, lies now in our power, if the King shall have occasion to make use thereof; besides so large a continent abounding with so many excellent lakes, of so mighty extent, from whence issue so many rivers, such variable kinds of soil, rich in fructification of all manner of seeds or grain, so likely to abound in minerals of all sorts, and other rich gain of commodities not yet to be known, besides furs of several kinds, both useful and merchantable, proper for foreign markets.

CHAPTER IX.

Showing more particularly the honor, content and profit of those undertakings.

To descend from those generals to more particulars. What can be more pleasing to a generous nature than to be exercised in doing public good? especially when his labor and industry tends to the private good and reputation of himself and posterity: and what monument so durable, as erecting of houses, villages and towns? and what more pious than advancing of Christian religion amongst people who have not known the excellency thereof? But, seeing works of piety and public good are in this age rather commended by all than acted by any, let us come a little nearer to that which all hearken unto, and that forsooth is profit.

Be it so. Art thou a laborer, that desirest to take pains for the maintenance of thyself?—the employments in plantations gives thee not only extraordinary wages, but opportunity to build some house or cottage, and a proportion of land agreeable to thy fortunes to set thyself when either lameness or other infirmities seize on thee. Hast thou a wife and a family?—by plantation thou buildest, enclosest, and dost labor to live and enjoy the fruits thereof with plenty, multiplying thy little means for thy children's good, when thou art no more.

But art thou of a greater fortune and more gloriously spirited?—I have told thee before what thou mayst be assured of, whereby it may appear thou shalt not want means nor opportunity to exercise the excellency of thine own justice, and ingenuity to govern and act the best things, whether it be for thyself or such as live under thee, or have their dependency or hopes of happiness upon thy worth and virtue as their chief. Neither are these parts of the world void of opportunity to make a further discovery into the vast territories, that promiseth so much hopes of honor and

profits (formerly spoken of) to be raised to posterity by the means and opportunity of those great and goodly lakes and rivers, which invite all that are of brave spirits to seek the extent of them,—especially since it is already known that some of these lakes contain fifty or sixty leagues in length, some one hundred, some two hundred, others four or five hundred; the greatest abounding in multitude of islands fit for habitation; the land on both sides, especially to the southward, fertile and pleasant, being between the degrees of forty-four and forty-five of latitude; and to the west of these lakes that are now known, they pass by a main river to another sea or lake, which is conceived to disembogue into the South Seas; where the savages report that they have a trade with a nation, that comes once a year unto them with great ships, and brings shoes and buskins, kettles and hatchets, and the like, which they barter for skins and furs of all kinds,—the people being clothed with long robes, their heads bald or shaven, so as it is conceived they must be Catayons or Chinawaies. Whatsoever they be, were the strength of my body and means answerable to my heart, I would undertake the discovery of the uttermost extent thereof; and whosoever shall effect the same, shall both eternize his virtues and make happy such as will endeavor to partake thereof.

But I end, and leave all to Him who is the only author of all goodness, and knows best his own time to bring his will to be made manifest, and appoints his instruments for the accomplishing thereof; to whose pleasure it becomes every one of us to submit ourselves, as to that mighty God and great and gracious Lord, to whom all glory doth belong.

A

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF LACONIA,

A

PROVINCE IN NEW ENGLAND.

[Re-printed from Gorges' "*America Painted to the Life*," &c., published at London, 1658.]

Among divers plantations of the English happily founded in New England, is a province to the landward named Laconia, so called by reason of the great lakes therein, but by the ancient inhabitants thereof it is called the country of the Iroquois.*

It lies between the latitude of 44 and 45 degrees, having the rivers of Sagadehock and Myrameck on the sea-coast of New England southerly from it, into each of which rivers there is a short passage frequented by the Savages inhabiting near the lakes; also it hath the great lakes which tend toward California in the South Sea on the west thereof; on the north-east is the great river of Canada, into which the said river disgorgeth itself by a fair large river well replenished with many fruitful islands. The air thereof is pure and wholesome, the country pleasant, having some high hills full of goodly forests and fair vallies and plains fruitful in corn, vines, chestnuts, walnuts, and infinite sorts of other fruits; large rivers well stored with fish, and environed with goodly meadows full of timber trees.

One of the great lakes is called the lake of Iroquois,† which together with a river of the same name running into

* *Troquois* in the original edition, evidently a misprint.

† Lake Champlain.

the river of Canada, is sixty or seventy leagues in length. In the lake are four fair islands, which are low and full of goodly woods and meadows, having store of game for hunting, as stags, fallow-deer, elks, roe-bucks, beavers, and other sorts of beasts, which come from the main land to the said islands; the rivers which fall into the lakes have in them good store of beavers, of the skins of which beasts, as also of the elks, the Salvages makes their chiefest traffick.

The said islands have been inhabited heretofore by the savages, but are now abandoned by reason of their late wars one with another; they contain twelve or fifteen leagues in length, and are seated commodiously for habitation in the midst of the lake, which abounds with divers kinds of wholesome fish. From this lake run two rivers northward, which fall into the eastern and southern sea-coast of New England.

Into this lake there went many years since certain French of Quebec, who sided with the Algouinquins, with the help of their canoes, which they carried the space of five miles over the impassable falls, to fight a battle in revenge of some former injuries done by the Iroquois to the Algouinquins, who had the victory; for which cause the French have been so hated ever since by the nation of the Iroquois, that none of them durst ever appear in any part of that lake; but their beavers and other trade, said to be 16,000 beavers yearly, is partly sold to the Dutch, who trade with the west end of said lake overland by horses from their plantation on Hudson's river; and another part is conceived to be purchased by the Hiroons [Hurons], who being neuters are friends both to the one and the other; and these Hiroons bring down the greatest part of all the river of Canada.

The way over land to this great lake from the Plantation of Pascataway hath been attempted by Captain Walter Neale, once Governour, at the charges of my grandfather, Capt. Mason, and some merchants of London, and the discovery wanted one day's journey of finishing, because their victuals were spent, which for want of horses they were enforced to carry with their armes and their clothes upon

their backs; they intended to make a settlement for trade by pinnaces upon the said lake, which they reckon to be about 90 or 100 miles from the Plantation over land.*

The people of this country are given to hunting of wild beasts, which is their chiefest food. Their arms are bows and arrows, their armor is made partly of wood, and partly of a kind of twisted stuff like cotton wool. Their meat is

* Walter Neal arrived at the Piscataqua in the summer of 1630, having been sent, says Winthrop, "as Governor there for Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others." 1 Hist. N. E. 39. He remained about three years; having sailed on his return to England, August, 1633, in the ship Bonadventure, Capt. Graves. Winthrop has the following notice of his departure: "Mr. Graves returned. He carried between five and six thousand weight of beaver, and about thirty passengers. Capt. Walter Neal, of Pascataquack, and some eight of his company went with him. He had been in the bay [Boston harbor] above ten days, and came not all that time to see the Governor. Being persuaded by divers of his friends, his answer was, that he was not well entertained the first time he came hither, and, besides, *he had some letters opened* in the bay," &c. Vol. 1, p. 106.

Belknap confounds Neal's attempt to discover the Iroquois lake with a visit to the White Mountains, performed by Darby Field and others, in 1642, described by Winthrop under that year. "Such an impression had the claims of Laconia made on the minds of our first settlers, that Neal set out on foot in company with Jocelyn and Darby Field, to discover these beautiful lakes, and settle a trade with the Indians by pinnaces, imagining the distance to be short of 100 miles. In the course of their travels they visited the white Mountains," &c. Hist. N. H., Chap. I. Henry Josselyn did not come over until 1634, as appears from a document published by Dr. Belknap, in the Appendix to his History N. H., No. 8. John Josselyn, the traveller, made his first voyage to New England in 1638. But it seems that Capt Mason had employed Henry Josselyn to undertake the exploration of Laconia; but whether he performed his engagement does not appear. T. Morton says: "About the parts of this Lake [Iroquois] may be made a very great commodity by the trade of furs, to enrich those that shall plant there; a more complete discovery of those parts is (to my knowledge) undertaken by Henry Joseline, Esq., son of Sir Thomas Joseline, of Kent, Knight, by the approbation and appointment of that heroick and very good commonwealth's man, Capt. John Mason, Esquire," &c. *New English Canaan.* p. 98, ed. 1637. Morton devotes a chapter of his book to a description of the "Great Lake of Erocoise in New England," and dwells upon the importance of the trade in beaver, by which, he says, the Dutch on Hudson's river have gained £2000 a year. He doubts not that Josselyn "will perform as much as is expected, if the Dutch, by getting into those parts before him, do not frustrate his so hopeful and laudable designs." p. 99.

flour of Indian corn, of that country's growth sodden to pap, which they preserve for times of necessity when they cannot hunt. This Province of Laconia, however known by a distinct name, is included within the Province of Maine, which offers itself next to our consideration.

OF THE

PROVINCE OF MAINE.

ALL that part of the continent of New-England which was allotted by patent to my grandfather, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and to his heirs, he thought fit to call it by the name of the Province of Maine. It takes its beginning at the entrance of Pascatoway harbor, and so passeth up the same into the river of Newichwanock, and through the same unto the farthest head thereof, and from thence northwestwards for the space of 120 miles; and from the mouth of Pascatoway Harbor aforesaid, north-eastwards along the sea coast to Sagadehock, and up the river thereof to Kynebequy river, even as far as the head thereof, and into the land north-westwards for the space of 120 miles. To these territories are also adjoined the north half of the Isles of Sholes, together with the isles of Capaweck and Nautican, as also all the islands and islets lying within five leagues of the main, all along the sea coast between the aforesaid rivers of Pascatoway and Sagadehock. He no sooner had this Province settled upon him, but he gave public notice that if any would undertake by himself and his associates to transport a competent number of inhabitants to plant in any part of his limits, he would assign unto him or them such a proportion of land as should in reason satisfy them, reserving only to himself some small high rent, as 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* for 100 acres per annum; and

if they went about to build any town or city, he would endow them with such liberties and immunities as should make them capable to govern themselves within their own limits according to the liberties granted to any town or corporation within this realm of England; and as for others of the meaner sort that went as tenants, that they should have such quantities of land assigned them as they were able to manage, at the rate of 4*d.* or 6*d.* an acre, according to the nature or situation of the place they settle in. As for the division of the Province and the form of government, which he intended to establish, he first divided the Province into several parts, those he subdivided into distinct Regiments, east, west, north and south, those again into several Hundreds, Parishes and Tithings; and these to have their several officers to govern according to such laws as should be agreed upon by public assent of the freeholders, with the approbation of himself or Deputy, and the principal officers of the public state.

[Here follows a description of the intended government, as set forth in the fifth chapter of the Brief Narration.]

The chief town of this Province is called Gorgiana, which is governed by a Mayor; the rest are only inconsiderable villages or scattered houses; but I doubt not, after the government of New-England comes once to be thoroughly settled, and good encouragement given to adventurers and planters, but it will prove a very flourishing place, and be replenished with many fair towns and cities, it being a Province both fruitful and pleasant.

LEVETT'S VOYAGE,

ALONG THE COAST OF MAINE,

A. D. 1623–4.

NOTE.

THE following is a re-print of an extremely rare book, of which we are not aware that more than a single copy of the original edition exists in this country. That copy is in the Library of the New York Historical Society, to which recourse has been had in this publication. As the work relates almost wholly to the coast of Maine, at an extremely early period, it possesses peculiar claims on the attention of this Society, and cannot fail to interest those who are curious about the early history of our State.

A

VOYAGE

INTO

NEW ENGLAND,

BEGUN IN 1623, AND ENDED IN 1624.

PERFORMED BY

CHRISTOPHER LEVETT,

HIS MAJESTY'S WOODWARD OF SOMERSETSHIRE, AND ONE OF THE COUNCIL OF NEW ENGLAND.

PRINTED AT LONDON, BY WILLIAM JONES,

And are sold by Edward Brewster, at the sign of the Bible, in Paul's Churchyard.

1628.

To the Right Honorable, George Duke of Buckingham, his Grace, Thomas Earl of Arundell and Surrey, Robert Earl of Warwick, John Earl of Holderness, and the rest of the Council for New England.

May it please your Lordships, that whereas you granted your commission unto Captain Robert Gorges, Governor of New England, Captain Francis West, myself, and the Governor of New Plymouth, as counsellors with him, for the ordering and governing of all the said territories, wherein we have been diligent to the uttermost of our powers, as we shall be ready to render an account unto your honors, when you shall be pleased to require us thereunto. In the mean time, I thought it my duty to present unto your views, such observation as I have taken, both for the country and people, commodities and discommodities: as also, what places are fit to settle plantations in, in which not; what courses are fit in my understanding to be taken, for bringing glory to God honor to our king and nation, good unto the commonwealth, and profit to all adventurers and planters; which I humbly beseech your lordships to accept of, as the best fruits of a shallow capacity: so shall I think my time and charge well employed, which I have spent in these affairs.

I have omitted many things in this my discourse, which I conceived to be impertinent at this time for me to relate, as of the time of my being at sea, of the strange fish which we there saw, some with wings flying above the water, others with manes, ears, and heads, and chasing one another with open mouths like stone horses in a park, as also of the steering of our course, the observation of the sun and stars, by which the elevation of the pole is found, the degrees of latitude known, which shows how far a ship is out of his due course, either to the north or south; likewise of the making of the land at our arrival upon the coast of New England, how it did arise and appear unto us; how every harbor bears one from another upon the point of the compass; and what rocks and dangers are in the way; how many fathom water is found by sounding at the entrance of every harbor; and from how many of the several winds all the harbors are land-locked. But by this means I thought I should not only be tedious, but also in danger of losing myself, for want of fit phrases and sound judgment, in the arts of the mathematics and navigation, (being but a young scholar though an ancient traveller by sea,) and therefore thought better to omit those, than anything I have to relate.

Thus beseeching God to bless your Honors, I rest at your Lordships' service. Christopher Levett.

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A VOYAGE INTO NEW ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Contains my discovery of divers Rivers and Harbors, with their names, and which are fit for plantation, and which not.

THE first place I set my foot upon in New England, was the Isle of Shoulds, being islands in the sea, about two leagues from the main.

Upon these islands, I neither could see one good timber tree, nor so much good ground as to make a garden.

The place is found to be a good fishing place for six ships, but more cannot well be there, for want of convenient stage room, as this year's experience hath proved.

The harbor is but indifferent good. Upon these islands are no savages at all.

The next place I came unto was Pannaway, where one M. Tomson hath made a plantation, there I stayed about one month, in which time I sent for my men from the east: who came over in divers ships.*

At this place I met with the Governor, who came thither in a bark which he had from one M. Weston about twenty days before I arrived in the land.†

* David Thompson, an agent of Gorges and Mason, under the patent of Laconia, established a plantation near the mouth of the Piscataqua, in the summer of 1623. At the same time, a settlement was commenced at Cochecho, now Dover, by Edward Hilton and his brother William. These were the first attempts to colonize the territory which afterwards received the name of New Hampshire. Prince. N. E. Chron. 133.

† Weston was a London merchant, extensively engaged in the fisheries. He had attempted to plant a colony the year before at Wessagusset, now Weymouth, on Massachusetts Bay; but his design failed. The "Governor," whom Levett met at this place, was Robert Gorges, Esq. This account of the organization of his government over all New England, has escaped the notice of our historians, even that of the indefatigable Bancroft. See Folsom's Discourse, p. 43.

The Governor then told me that I was joined with him in commission as a counsellor, which being read I found it was so. And he then, in the presence of three more of the council, administered unto me an oath.

After the meeting of my men, I went a coasting in two boats with all my company.

In the time I stayed with M. Tomson, I surveyed as much as possible I could, the weather being unseasonable, and very much snow.

In those parts I saw much good timber, but the ground it seemed to me not to be good, being very rocky and full of trees and brushwood.

There is great store of fowl of divers sorts, whereof I fed very plentifully.

About two English miles further to the east, I found a great river and a good harbor called Pascattaway. But for the ground I can say nothing, but by the relation of the sagamore or king of that place, who told me there was much good ground up in the river about seven or eight leagues.

About two leagues further to the east is another great river called Aquamenticus. There I think a good plantation may be settled, for there is a good harbor for ships, good ground, and much already cleared, fit for planting of corn and other fruits, having heretofore been planted by the savages who are all dead. There is good timber, and likely to be good fishing, but as yet there hath been no trial made that I can hear of.*

About six leagues further to the east is a harbor called Cape Porpas, the which is indifferent good for six ships, and it is generally thought to be an excellent place for fish, but as yet there hath been no trial made, but there may be a good plantation seated, for there is good timber and good ground, but will require some labor and charge.†

* The first settlement at Agamenticus, now York, was made in 1630, according to the statement of Edward Godfrey. See 1 Maine Hist. Coll. 295.

† The name of Cape Porpoise is still retained; it was formerly applied to the town now Kennebunk Port.

About four leagues further east, there is another harbor called Sawco (between this place and Cape Porpas I lost one of my men); before we could recover the harbor a great fog or mist took us that we could not see a hundred yards from us. I perceiving the fog to come upon the sea, called for a compass and set the cape land, by which we knew how to steer our course, which was no sooner done but we lost sight of land, and my other boat, and the wind blew fresh against us, so that we were enforced to strike sail, and betake us to our oars which we used with all the wit and strength we had, but by no means could we recover the shore that night, being imbayed and compassed round with breaches, which roared in a most fearful manner on every side of us; we took counsel in this extremity one of another what to do to save our lives; at length we resolved that to put to sea again in the night was no fit course, the storm being great, and the wind blowing right off the shore, and to run our boat on the shore among the breaches, (which roared in a most fearful manner) and cast her away and endanger ourselves we were loath to do, seeing no land nor knowing where we were. At length I caused our killick (which was all the anchor we had) to be cast forth, and one continually to hold his hand upon the rood or cable, by which we knew whether our anchor held or no: which being done we commended ourselves to God by prayer, and put on a resolution to be as comfortable as we could, and so fell to our victuals. Thus we spent that night, and the next morning; with much ado we got into Sawco, where I found my other boat.*

* The Indian name of Saco river, as given by Capt. Smith, in the account of his voyage in 1614, was *Sawocotuck;* hence the name of Sawco or Saco. The settlements commenced there about 1630, perhaps two or three years before. Two patents were granted by the Council of Plymouth in that year, each conveying a tract four miles wide on the sea, and eight miles into the main land, on opposite sides of the river. Legal possession was taken of the tract on the west side of the river in the summer of 1630, and of the other the following year, by the patentees. The river is named in the patents, *Swanckadock.* See copies of these patents in Hist. Saco and Biddeford.

There I stayed five nights, the wind being contrary, and the weather very unseasonable, having much rain and snow, and continual fogs.

We built us our wigwam, or house, in one hour's space. It had no frame, but was without form or fashion, only a few poles set up together, and covered with our boats' sails, which kept forth but a little wind, and less rain and snow.

Our greatest comfort we had, next unto that which was spiritual, was this: we had fowl enough for killing, wood enough for felling, and good fresh water enough for drinking.

But our beds was the wet ground, and our bedding our wet clothes. We had plenty of crane, goose, ducks and mallard, with other fowl, both boiled and roasted, but our spits and racks were many times in danger of burning before the meat was ready (being but wooden ones.)

After I had stayed there three days, and no likelihood of a good wind to carry us further, I took with me six of my men, and our arms, and walked along the shore to discover as much by land as I could: after I had travelled about two English miles I met with a river which stayed me that I could go no further by land that day, but returned to our place of habitation where we rested that night (having our lodging amended); for the day being dry I caused all my company to accompany me to a marsh ground, where we gathered every man his burthen of long dry grass, which being spread in our wigwam or house, I praise God I rested as contentedly as ever I did in all my life. And then came into my mind an old merry saying, which I have heard of a beggar boy, who said if ever he should attain to be a king, he would have a breast of mutton with a pudding in it, and lodge every night up to the ears in dry straw; and thus I made myself and my company as merry as I could, with this and some other conceits, making this use of all, that it was much better than we deserved at God's hands, if he should deal with us according to our sins.

The next morning I caused four of my men to row my lesser boat to this river, who with much ado got in, myself

and three more going by land; but by reason of the extremity of the weather we were enforced to stay there that night, and were constrained to sleep upon the river bank, being the best place we could find, the snow being very deep.

The next morning we were enforced to rise betime, for the tide came up so high that it washed away our fire, and would have served us so too if we had not kept watch. So we went over the river in our boat, where I caused some to stay with her, myself being desirous to discover further by land, I took with me four men and walked along the shore about six English miles further to the east, where I found another river, which stayed me. So we returned back to Sawco, where the rest of my company and my other boat lay. That night I was exceeding sick, by reason of the wet and cold and much toiling of my body: but thanks be to God I was indifferent well the next morning, and the wind being fair we put to sea, and that day came to Quack.

But before I speak of this place I must say something of Sawco, and the two rivers which I discovered in that bay, which I think never Englishman saw before.

Sawco is about one league to the north-east of a cape land. And about one English mile from the main lieth six islands, which make an indifferent good harbor. And in the main there is a cove or gut, which is about a cable's length in breadth, and two cable's length long, there two good ships may ride, being well moored ahead and stern; and within the cove there is a great marsh, where at a high water a hundred sail of ships may float, and be free from all winds, but at low water must lie aground, but being soft ooze they can take no hurt.*

In this place there is a world of fowl, much good timber, and a great quantity of clear ground and good, if it be not a little too sandy. There hath been more fish taken within

* This cove or gut is now called the Pool, on the north side of Fletcher's Neck, about nine miles below the village of Saco. It is a favorite place of resort in summer.

two leagues of this place this year than in any other in the land.

The river next to Sawco eastwards, which I discovered by land, and after brought my boat into, is the strangest river that ever my eyes beheld. It flows at the least ten foot water upright, and yet the ebb runs so strong that the tide doth not stem it. At three quarters flood my men were scarce able with four oars to row ahead. And more than that, at full sea I dipped my hand in the water, quite without the mouth of the river, in the very main ocean, and it was as fresh as though it had been taken from the head of a spring.

This river, as I am told by the savages, cometh from a great mountain called the Chrystal hill, being as they say one hundred miles in the country, yet is it to be seen at the sea side, and there is no ship arrives in New England, either to the west so far as Cape Cod, or to the east so far as Monhiggen, but they see this mountain the first land, if the weather be clear.*

The next river eastward which I discovered by land, is about six miles from the other. About these two rivers I saw much good timber and sandy ground, there is also much fowl, fish and other commodities: but these places are not fit for plantation for the present, because there is no good coming in either for ship or boat, by reason of a sandy breach which lieth along the shore, and makes all one breach.

And now in its place I come to Quack, which I have named York. At this place there fished divers ships of Waymouth this year.

*The river referred to by the Indians must have been the Saco, which rises in the White Mountains, to which the term *Chrystal* Hill well applies. Those mountains are now, as in Levett's day, the first object which greets the mariner as he approaches this part of our coast, from which they are between 80 and 100 miles distant. There is a small river, called Little River, next east of the Saco, and about three miles distant; Black Point or Dunstan river is three miles from that, but they are both short rivers, and penetrate but a few miles from the shore. The next river referred to is the Spurwink, which is well described by the sandy beach which lies on each side of its mouth.

It lieth about two leagues to the east of Cape Elizabeth. It is a bay or sound betwixt the main and certain islands which lieth in the sea about one English mile and half.

There are four islands which makes one good harbor; there is very good fishing, much fowl, and the main as good ground as any can desire. There I found one river wherein the savages say there is much salmon and other good fish. In this bay there hath been taken this year four sturgeons, by fishermen who drive only for herrings, so that it is likely there may be good store taken if there were men fit for that purpose. This river I made bold to call by my own name, Levett's river, being the first that discovered it. How far this river is navigable I cannot tell; I have been but six miles up it, but on both sides is goodly ground.*

In the same bay I found another river, up which I went about three miles, and found a great fall of water, much bigger than the fall at London bridge at low water; further a boat cannot go, but above the fall the river runs smooth again.

Just at this fall of water the sagamore or king of that place hath a house, where I was one day when there were two sagamores more, their wives and children, in all about

* We have no means of determining the precise spot to which the author refers, by the name of "*Quack*," or "*York*." Neither name has been preserved, either by tradition or documents, nor anything which corresponds to them. We suppose the "bay or sound betwixt the main and certain islands," to be the main channel which leads into Portland harbor, for that has the main on the west, and the islands on the east. And the four islands still lie there, under the name of Bang's, Peak's, House and Hog, affording shelter now in every storm to many a vessel which seeks its secure anchorage. They form indeed "one good harbour." The river which he made bold to call by his own name, but alas for fame! a name no longer remembered there, must be Casco or Fore river, on whose northern bank lies the city of Portland; and the other river, which he could ascend only three miles, was the Presumpscot, still rendered inaccessible to navigation at the same distance by its rocky barrier. The name *Cascoe*, which he applies to some place between Portland and the mouth of the Kennebeck, probably Broad bay in Cumberland and North Yarmouth, was appropriated by the settlers, who fixed their residence in the bay eight or ten years after, to the region now embraced by Portland and Falmouth: while the name *York* was transferred to Agamenticus.

fifty, and we were but seven. They bid me welcome and gave me such victuals as they had, and I gave them tobacco and aqua vitæ.

After I had spent a little time with them I departed and gave them a small shot, and they gave me another. And the great Sagamore of the east country, whom the rest do acknowledge to be chief amongst them, he gave unto me a beaver's skin, which I thankfully received, and so in great love we parted. On both sides this river there is goodly ground.

From this harbor to Sagadahock, which is about eight or nine leagues, is all broken islands in the sea, which makes many excellent good harbors, where a thousand sail of ships may ride in safety; the sound going up within the islands to the cape of Sagadahock.

In the way betwixt York and Sagadahock lieth Cascoe, a good harbor, good fishing, good ground, and much fowl. And I am persuaded that from Cape Elizabeth to Sagadahock, which is above thirty leagues to follow the main, is all exceeding commodious for plantations; and that there may be twenty good towns well seated, to take the benefit both of the sea, and fresh rivers.

For Sagadahock I need say nothing of it, there hath been heretofore enough said by others, and I fear me too much. But the place is good; there fished this year two ships.

The next place I came to was Capemanwagan,* a place where nine ships fished this year. But I like it not for a plantation, for I could see little good timber and less good

* Josselyn writes this name *Capeanawhagen;* it is beyond doubt a part of the town of Boothbay, situated between the Sheepscot and Damariscotta rivers, a few miles east of the Kennebec. Here an early settlement was made, which was long known by the name of Cape Nawagen or Newagen. Sullivan, 390, 1. Williamson, II. 375. The latter has the following description of "the island of Cape Newagen:" "On the southwest side of Boothbay, which bounds on the east shore of the Sheepscot, is the island of Cape Newagen, four and a half miles long, generally one mile wide, and separated from Boothbay, to which it belongs, by a narrow passage for small vessels, called *Townsend Gut. Eberecook harbor* is on the west side, and midway of Cape Newagen island, where was an old settlement." Hist. Maine, vol. I. p. 55.

ground; there I staid four nights, in which time there came many savages with their wives and children, and some of good account amongst them, as Menawormet, a sagamore, Cogawesco, the sagamore of Casco and Quack, now called York, Somerset, a sagamore, one that hath been found very faithful to the English, and hath saved the lives of many of our nation, some from starving, others from killing.*

They intended to have been gone presently, but hearing of my being there, they desired to see me, which I understood by one of the masters of the ships, who likewise told me that they had some store of beaver coats and skins, and was going to Pemaquid to truck with one Mr. Witheridge, a master of a ship of Bastable, and desired me to use means that they should not carry them out of the harbor. I wished them to bring all their truck to one Mr. Coke's stage, and I would do the best I could to put it away: some of them did accordingly, and I then sent for the sagamores, who came, and after some compliments they told me I must be their cousin, and that Captain Gorges was so, (which you may imagine I was not a little proud of, to be adopted cousin to so many great kings at one instant, but did willingly accept of it) and so passing away a little time very pleasantly, they desired to be gone, whereupon I told them that I understood they had some coats and beaver skins which I desired to truck for: but they were unwilling, and I seemed careless of it (as men must do if they require anything of them.) But at last Somerset swore that there should be

* This Sagamore is probably the same one that executed the deed from which is derived the "Brown claim" to lands at Pemaquid. The instrument is dated July 15th, 1625, and is signed by "Captain John Somerset," and "Unnongoit;" the grantee is described as "John Brown, of New Harbour." Brown is represented as residing at that date near Pemaquid Point, at the place called New Harbour. This grant embraced a large tract of land, extending twenty-five miles from the sea into the interior of the country, and thus conflicted with the patent of Aldworth and Elbridge from the Council of Plymouth. Levett did not proceed so far as Pemaquid, as he was in pursuit of a suitable place for a settlement, and he had been informed that Pemaquid was already granted to others. This was in the winter of 1623–'4. It is possible that Brown was then living at Pemaquid.

none carried out of the harbor, but his cousin Levett should have all; and then they began to offer me some by way of gift, but I would take none but one pair of sleeves from Cogawesco, but told them it was not the fashion of English captains always to be taking, but sometimes to take and give, and continually to truck was very good. But in fine, we had all except one coat and two skins, which they reserved to pay an old debt with; but they staying all that night, had them stolen from them.

In the morning the sagamores came to me with a grievous complaint. I used the best language I could to give them content, and went with them to some stages which they most suspected, and searched both cabins and chests, but found none. They seeing my willingness to find the thief out, gave me thanks, and wished me to forbear, saying the rogues had carried them into the woods where I could not find them.

When they were ready to depart they asked me where I meant to settle my plantation. I told them I had seen many places to the west, and intended to go farther to the east before I could resolve; they said there was no good place, and I had heard that Pemoquid, and Capmanwagan, and Monhiggon were granted to others, and the best time for fishing was then at hand, which made me the more willing to retire, and the rather because Cogawesco, the sagamore of Casco and Quack, told me if that I would sit down at either of those two places, I should be very welcome, and that he and his wife would go along with me in my boat to see them; which courtesy I had no reason to refuse, because I had set up my resolution before to settle my plantation at Quack, which I named York, and was glad of this opportunity, that I had obtained the consent of them, who as I conceive hath a natural right of inheritance, as they are the sons of Noah, and therefore do think it fit to carry things very fairly without compulsion, (if it be possible) for avoiding of treachery.

The next day the wind came fair, and I sailed to Quack or York, with the king, queen, and prince, bow and arrows,

dog and kettle in my boat, his noble attendance rowing by us in their canoes.

When we came to York the masters of the ships came to bid me welcome, and asked what savages those were. I told them, and I thanked them; they used them kindly, and gave them meat, drink, and tobacco. The woman or reputed queen, asked me if those men were my friends. I told her they were; then she drank to them, and told them they were welcome to her country, and so should all my friends be at any time; she drank also to her husband, and bid him welcome to her country too; for you must understand that her father was the sagamore of this place, and left it to her at his death, having no more children.

And thus after many dangers, much labor and great charge, I have obtained a place of habitation in New England, where I have built a house, and fortified it in a reasonable good fashion, strong enough against such enemies as are those savage people.

CHAPTER II.

Sheweth how the Savages carried themselves unto me continually, and of my going to their Kings' houses: and their coming to mine.

Whilst I stayed in this place I had some little truck, but not much, by reason of an evil member in the harbor, who being covetous of truck used the matter so that he got the savages away from me.

And it is no wonder he should abuse me in this sort, for he hath not spared your lordships and all the council for New England.

He said unto the governor that the lords had sent men over into that country with commissions, to make a prey of others. And yet for my own part I never demanded or took from any man in that country, the value of a denier, neither had I so much help from any ship or ship's company as one man's labor the space of an hour, nor had I any provision or victual upon any terms whatsoever, save only one

thousand of bread, and twenty-two bushels of peas, which was offered unto me, and not by me requested, for which I gave present satisfaction in beaver skins: and also one runlet of aqua vitæ, which was brought to me sixteen leagues unexpected, which good manners bid me buy. Much more provision was offered to me by many masters of ships, but I had no need thereof, so I gave them thanks for their kindness, and refused all.

Nay, it is well known, that I was so far from doing wrong to any, that I suffered the land which was granted to me by patent, and made choice of before any other man came there, to be used, and my timber to be cut down and spoiled, without taking or asking any satisfaction for the same. And I doubt not but all others to whom you gave authority, will sufficiently clear themselves of all such imputations.

He said also he cared not for any authority in that place, and though he was forbid to truck, yet would he have all he could get: in despite of who should say to the contrary, having a great ship with seventeen pieces of ordnance and fifty men.

And indeed his practice was according to his words, for every Sunday, or once in the week, he went himself or sent a boat up the river and got all the truck before they could come down to the harbor. And so many savages as he could get to his stage, he would enforce them to leave their goods behind them. One instance amongst many I will give you.

On a certain day there came two savages to his place, who were under the command of Somerset or Conway, I know not whether, at which time they were both with me at my house, but the other two who went to him, knew not so much, but afterwards they understanding of it, came presently over, but left their coats and beaver skins behind them, whereat Somerset and Conway were exceeding angry; and were ready to beat the poor fellows, but I would not suffer them so to do. They presently went over the harbor themselves in their canoe to fetch their goods, but this man would

let them have none, but wished them to truck with him; they told him they would not, but would carry them to Captain Levett; he said Levett was no captain, but a jacknape, a poor fellow, &c. They told him again that he was a rogue, with some other speeches, whereupon he and his company fell upon them and beat them both, in so much that they came to me in a great rage against him, and said they would be revenged on his fishermen at sea, and much ado I had to dissuade one of them from going into England to tell king James of it, as he said; when they came to me in this rage, there was two or three masters of ships by, and heard every word.

But all this did me no hurt, (save the loss of the truck, which by divers was thought to be worth above fifty pounds,) for the two sagamores whom he enticed from me and incensed against me, at length used means to be friends with me, sending one who asked me, if I were angry with them; I told them no, I was not angry with them for any such matter as lousy coats and skins, but if they were *machet*, that is, naughty men, and rebellious, then I would be *mouchick hoggery*, that is very angry, and would *cram*, that is kill them all.

When they came themselves to me to seek peace, they brought me a beaver coat, and two otter skins, which they would have let me had for nothing, but I would not take them so, but gave them more than usually I did by way of truck. I then told them likewise that if at any time they did truck with me, they should have many good things in lieu of their beaver; and if they did not truck it was no matter, I would be good friends with them; at which they smiled and talked one to the other, saying the other was a jacknape, and that I had the right fashion of the *aberieney* sagamores; then they began to applaud or rather flatter me, saying I was so big a sagamore, yea four fathom, which were the best words they could use to express their minds; I replied that I was a poor man as he had reported of me. They said again it was no matter what I said, or that jacknape (which is the most disgraceful word that may be in

their conceit,) for all the sagamores in the country loved poor Levett and was *muchick* sorry that he would be gone, and indeed I cannot tell what I should think of them, for ever after they would bring me content, as eggs and the whole bodies of beaver, which in my conceit eat like lamb, and is not inferior to it: yea the very coats of beaver and otter skins from off their backs, which though I many times refused, yet not always, but I never took any such courtesy from them, but I requited them answerably, choosing rather to neglect the present profit, than the hopes I have to bring them to better things, which I hope will be for a public good, and which I am persuaded were a grievous sin, to neglect for any sinister end.

And a little before my departure there came these sagamores to see me: Sadamoyt, the great sagamore of the east country, Manawormet, Opparunwit, Skedraguscett, Cogawesco, Somerset, Conway and others.

They asked me why I would be gone out of their country? I was glad to tell them my wife would not come thither except I did fetch her; they bid a pox on her hounds, (a phrase they have learned and do use when they do curse) and wished me to beat her. I told them no, for then our God would be angry. Then they run out upon her in evil terms, and wished me to let her alone and take another; I told them our God would be more angry for that. Again they bid me beat her, repeating it often, and very angerly, but I answered no, that was not the English fashion, and besides she was a good wife and I had children by her, and I loved her well, so I satisfied them. Then they told me that I and my wife and children, with all my friends, should be heartily welcome into that country at any time, yea a hundredth thousand times, yea *mouchicke*, *mouchicke*, which is a word of weight.

And Somerset told that his son (who was born whilst I was in the country, and whom he would needs have to name) and mine should be brothers and that there should be *mouchicke legamatch*, (that is friendship) betwixt them,

until Tanto carried them to his wigwam, (that is until they died.

Then they must know of me how long I would be wanting. I told them so many months, at which they seemed to be well pleased, but wished me to take heed I proved not *chechaske*, in that (that is, a liar.) They asked me what I would do with my house; I told them I would leave ten of my men there until I came again, and that they should kill all the Tarrantens they should see (being enemies to them) and with whom the English have no commerce. At which they rejoiced exceedingly, and then agreed amongst themselves that when the time should be expired, which I spoke of for my return, every one at the place where he lived would look to the sea, and when they did see a ship they would send to all the sagamores in the country, and tell them that poor Levett was come again. And thus instead of doing me hurt, I think that either he or I have done good to all planters, by winning their affections, (which may be made use of without trusting of them.)

But if your Lordships should put up this wrong done unto you, and the authority which you gave them, never expect to be obeyed in those parts, either by planters or fishermen; for some have not stuck to say, that if such a man, contemning authority, and abusing one of the council, and drawing his knife upon him at his own house, which he did, should go unpunished, then would not they care what they did hereafter.

And truly let me tell your Lordships, that if ever you intend to punish any for disobedience, or contempt of authority, this man is a fit instrument to make a precedent of, for he is rich, and this year will gain the best part of five hundred pounds by that country, and he hath neither wife nor child, for whose sakes he should be spared.

And if he go free, as he hath domineered over us, to whom your Lordships gave authority, but no power to put it in execution, so will he grow unmannerly too with your Lordships, as he hath already begun.

And it will discourage men hereafter to take any authority

upon them, or to go about to reform any abuses in those parts, and also it will hinder planters from going over, if fishermen be suffered not only to take away their truck, but also to animate the savages against them, for this is the way to cause all planters to have their throats cut.

But I leave these things to your Lordships' consideration, who have as well power as authority to punish such rebellious persons.

Thus having acquainted you with what I have done, seen, and heard, now give me leave to tell you what I think of the savages, the inhabitants of that country: as also to justify the innocent, I mean the country of New England, against the slanderous reports of this man, and some others, which I have heard, and likewise to deliver my opinion what courses I conceive to be most convenient to be taken, for bringing most glory to God, comfort, honor and benefit to our king, and our own native nation.

CHAPTER III.

Sheweth the nature and disposition of the Savages, and of their several Gods, Squanto and Tanto.

I HAVE had much conference with the savages about our only true God, and have done my best to bring them to know and acknowledge him; but I fear me all the labor that way will be lost, and no good will be done, except it be among the younger sort.

I find they have two gods: one they love and the other they hate: the god they love, they call Squanto, and to him they ascribe all their good fortunes.

The God they hate they call Tanto, and to him they ascribe all their evil fortunes, as thus, when any is killed, hurt or sick, or when it is evil weather, then they say, Tanto is *hoggry*, that is angry. When any dies, they say, Tanto carries them to his *wigwam*, that is his house, and they never see them more.

I have asked them where Squanto dwells; they say they

cannot tell; but up on high, and will point upwards. And for Tanto, they say far west, but they know not where.

I have asked them if at any time they have seen Squanto, or Tanto: they say no, there is none sees them but their pawwaws, nor they neither, but when they dream.

Their pawwaws are their physicians and surgeons, and as I verily believe they are all witches, for they foretell of ill weather, and many strange things; every sagamore hath one of them who belongs to his company, and they are altogether directed by them.

On a time I was at a sagamore's house, and saw a martin's skin, and asked if he would truck it; the sagamore told me no: the pawwaw used to lay that under his head when he dreamed, and if he wanted that, he could do nothing: thus we may perceive how the devil deludes those poor people, and keeps them in blindness.

I find them generally to be marvellous quick of apprehension, and full of subtlety; they will quickly find any man's disposition, and flatter and humour him strangely, if they hope to get anything of him; and yet they will count him a fool if he do not show a dislike of it, and will say one to another, that such a man is *mechecome*.

They are slow of speech, and if they hear a man speak much they will laugh at him, and say he is *mechecum*, that is a fool.

If men of place be too familiar with them, they will not respect them; therefore it is to be wished that all such persons should be wise in their carriage

The sagamores will scarce speak to an ordinary man, but will point to their men, and say sanops must speak to sanops, and sagamores to sagamores.

They are very bloody-minded and full of treachery amongst themselves; one will kill another for their wives, and he that hath the most wives is the bravest fellow; therefore I would wish no man to trust them, whatever they say or do; but always to keep a strict hand over them, and yet to use them kindly, and deal uprightly with them; so

shall they please God, keep their reputation amongst them, and be free from danger.

Their sagamores are no kings, as I verily believe, for I can see no government or law amongst them but club law; and they call all masters of ships sagamores, or any other man that they see have a command of men.

Their wives are their slaves, and do all the work; the men will do nothing but kill beasts, fish, &c.

On a time reasoning with one of their sagamores about their having so many wives, I told him it was no good fashion; he then asked me how many wives king James had; I told him he never had but one, and she was dead, at which he wondered, and asked me then who then done all the king's work. You may imagine he thought their fashion was universal, and that no king had any to work for them but their wives.

They have no apparel but skins, except they have it from the English or French; in winter they wear the hair side inwards, in summer outwards. They have a piece of skin about their loins like a girdle, and between their legs goes another, made fast to the girdle before and behind, which serves to cover their nakedness; they are all thus apparelled, going bare-headed with long hair; sometimes you shall not know the men from the women but by their breasts; the men having no hair on their faces.

When their children are born they bind them on a piece of board, and set it upright, either against a tree or any other place. They keep them thus bound until they be three months old; and after, they are continually naked until they be about five or six years.

Ye shall have them many times take their children and bury them in the snow all but their faces for a time, to make them the better to endure cold; and when they are above two years old, they will take them and cast them into the sea, like a little dog or cat, to learn them to swim.

Their weapons are bows and arrows; I never saw more than two fowling pieces, one pistol, about four half-pikes,

and three cutlasses amongst them, so that we need not to fear them much, if we avoid their treachery.

Their houses are built in half an hour's space, being only a few poles or boughs stuck in the ground and covered with the bark of trees.

Their language differs as English and Welsh. On a time the governor was at my house, and brought with him a savage, who lived not above seventy miles from the place which I have made choice of, who talking with another savage, they were glad to use broken English to express their mind each to the other, not being able to understand one another in their language.

And to say something of the country. I will not do therein as some have done to my knowledge, speak more than is true; I will not tell you that you may smell the corn-fields before you see the land; neither must men think that corn doth grow naturally, (or on trees,) nor will the deer come when they are called, or stand still and look on a man until he shoot him, not knowing a man from a beast; nor the fish leap into the kettle, nor on the dry land, neither are they so plentiful that you may dip them up in baskets, nor take cod in nets to make a voyage, which is no truer than that the fowls will present themselves to you with spits through them.

But certainly there is fowl, deer, and fish enough for the taking, if men be diligent; there be also vines, plum trees, strawberries, gooseberries, and rasps, walnuts, chestnut, and small nuts, of each great plenty; there is also great store of parsley, and divers other wholesome herbs, both for profit and pleasure, with great store of sassafras, sarsaparilla, and aniseeds.

And for the ground there is a large and goodly marsh to make meadow, higher land for pasture and corn.

There be these several sorts of earth, which I have seen, as clay, sand, gravel, yea, and as black fat earth, as ever I saw in England in all my life.

There are likewise these helps for ground, as seasand, oreworth or wrack, marl, blue and white, and some men

say there is lime; but I must confess I never saw any lime-stone: but I have tried the shells of fish, and I find them to be good lime.

Now let any husbandman tell me whether there be any fear of having any kind of corn, having these several kinds of earth with these helps, the climate being full as good if not better than England.

I dare be bold to say also, there may be ships as conveniently, there as in any place in the world, where I have been, and better cheap. As for plank, crooked timber, and all other sorts whatsoever can be desired for such purpose, the world cannot afford better. Masts and yards of all sizes, there be also trees growing, whereof pitch and tar is made.

And for sails and all sorts of cordish you need not to want, if you but sow hemp and flaxseed, and after work it. Now there wants nothing but iron, and truly I think I have seen iron-stone there, but must acknowledge I have no great judgment in minerals, yet I have seen the iron-works in England, and this stone is like ours. But howsoever if the country will not afford iron, yet it may be easily brought, for it is good ballast for ships.

There is also much excellent timber for joiners and coopers; howsoever a worthy nobleman hath been abused, who sent over some to make pipe-staves; who either for want of skill or industry did no good. Yet I dare say no place in England can afford better timber for pipe-staves, than four several places which I have seen in that country.

Thus have I related unto you what I have seen, and do know may be had in those parts of New England where I have been, yet was I never at the Mesachusett, which is counted the paradise of New England, nor at Cape Ann, but I fear there hath been too fair a gloss set on Cape Ann. I am told there is a good harbor which makes a fair invitation, but when they are in, their entertainment is not answerable, for there is little good ground, and the ships which fished there this year, their boats went twenty miles to take their fish, and yet they were in great fear of making

their voyages, as one of the masters confessed unto me who was at my house.*

Neither was I at New Plymouth, but I fear that place is not so good as many others, for if it were, in my conceit, they would content themselves with it and not seek for any other, having ten times so much ground as would serve ten times so many people as they have now amongst them. But it seems they have no fish to make benefit of, for this year they had one ship fish at Pemoquid, and another at Cape Ann, where they have begun a new plantation, but how long it will continue I know not.

Neither was I ever farther to the west than the Isle of Shoulds.

Thus have I done with my commendations of the country; I will now speak the worst I know by it.

About the middle of May you shall have little flies, called musketoes, which are like gnats; they continue, as I am told, until the last of July. These are very troublesome for the time, for they sting exceedingly both by night and day. But I found by experience that boots or thick stockings would save the legs, gloves the hands, and tiffany or some such things which will not much hinder the sight, will save the face, and at night any smoke will secure a man.

The reason of the abundance of these creatures, I take to be the woods which hinders the air, for I have observed always when the wind did blow but a little, we were not much troubled with them.

And I verily think that if there were a good number of people planted together, and that the woods were cut down, the earth were tilled, and the rubbish which lieth on the ground wherein they breed were burnt, and that there were many chimneys smoking, such small creatures would do but little hurt.

* Prince says, quoting Smith's History of New England, "in the spring of 1623, about forty ships go from England to the north-eastern coast of New England to fish, who make a far better voyage than ever." And in 1624, about fifty ships.

Another evil or inconvenience I see there, the snow in winter did lie very long upon the ground.

But I understand that all the parts of Christendom were troubled with a cold winter as well as we. Yet would I ask any man what hurt snow doeth? The husbandman will say that the corn is the better for it. And I hope cattle may be as well fed in the house there as in England, Scotland, and other countries, and he is but an ill husband that cannot find employments for his servants within doors for that time. As for wives and children if they be wise they will keep themselves close by a good fire, and for men they will have no occasion to ride to fairs or markets, sizes or sessions, only hawks and hounds will not then be useful.

Yet let me tell you that it is still almost Christmas before there be any winter there, so that the cold time doth not continue long.

And by all reason that country should be hotter than England, being many degrees farther from the north pole.

And thus according to my poor understanding I have given you the best information I can of the people and country, commodities and discommodities. Now give me leave to oppose myself against the man beforementioned, and others, who speaks against the country and plantations in those parts, and to set down such objections as I have heard them make, and my answers, and afterward let wisdom judge: for my desire is, that the saddle may be set on the right horse, and the ass may be rid, and the knave punished either for discouraging or encouraging too much, whatsoever he be.

CHAPTER V.

Certain objections and answers, with sufficient proofs how it may be exceeding profitable to the Commonwealth, and all planters and adventurers.

They say the country is good for nothing but to starve so many people as comes in it.

It is granted that some have been starved to death, and

others have hardly escaped, but where was the fault, in the country or in themselves. That the country is as I have said, I can bring one hundred men to justify it; but if men be neither industrious nor provident, they may starve in the best place of the world.

About two years since one Mr. Weston sent over about fifty persons to plant, with little provision; when they came there, they neither applied themselves to planting of corn nor taking of fish, more than for their present use, but went about to build castles in the air, and making of forts, neglecting the plentiful time of fishing. When winter came their forts would not keep out hunger, and they having no provision beforehand, and wanting both powder and shot to kill deer and fowl, many were starved to death, and the rest hardly escaped. There are four of his men which escaped, now at my plantation, who have related unto me the whole business.

Again, this last year there went over divers at one time, and to one place, with too little provision; some of them are dead, yet I cannot hear of any that were merely starved, except one whose name was Chapman, a Londoner, and whether he was starved or no is uncertain; but if he were, God's just judgment did appear.

For this man (as I am told by an honest man who came from London with him) brought at the least eighty pounds' worth of provision, and no more but himself and two servants, which was sufficient for at the least eighteen months, if it had been well used. And yet in five months after his arrival in New England he died miserably.

Let me tell you a strange thing of this man; (I have it but by relation from one of his companions) he payed for his passage, and his mens', and provision, so that he needed not to have spent any thing until his arrival in New England, yet would he at Plymouth, (where the ship stayed too long for him and others,) spend seven or eight pound a week in wine, tobacco, and whores, and for the maintaining of this expense he daily fetched his provision from aboard, and sold it at a low rate. And when they were at sea, his tobacco

being spent, he gave usually sixpence for a pipe; he gave also a suit of clothes, valued to be worth fifty shillings, for so much tobacco as was not worth half a crown. Nay, at last, as his comrade told me, he was glad to become servant to one of his servants. Then his master told him, that if he would work he would allow him one biscuit cake a day, if not he should have but half a cake. He made choice of half a cake, without work; and so a base, lazy fellow made a lamentable end. Where was the fault now, in the men or in the country?

Another objection which I have met with is this: That there is nothing got or saved by sending men over to plant; neither is it beneficial either to private men, either adventurer or planter, or good for the commonwealth.

In answer hereunto, first for matter of profit, it is well known to all the merchants of the west country, who have left almost all other trade but this, and yet is grown rich thereby.

Secondly, for the commonwealth consider these things: 1. The great complaint that hath for so long time been made in England, that our land is overburthened with people, and that there is no employment for our men, so that it is likely they must either starve, steal, or prove mutinous, and whether plantations be a means to help this inconvenience or no, I desire to know?

It hath been likewise said unto me, that it benefits the commonwealth nothing at all to send men over with provision of clothes, victuals, and continual supplies.

To that I say, let such men, as you send thither to plant, have provision as Chapman had for eighteen months, and if after, they cannot live of themselves, and be beneficial either to the commonwealth or to themselves, let them die Chapman's death.

Again plantations may be beneficial to the commonwealth, by the enlargement of his Majesty's dominions.

Again by the increase of shipping, (which is the strength of a nation,) and that without wasting of our timber, which is a commodity that I fear England will find the want of

before many years pass over; for if timber go to decay as now it doth, we shall scarce have any to build, or repair ships or houses. Again, tell me whether it would be beneficial to the commonwealth to have all our idle persons kept to work, and our populous nation disburthened, and yet to have them ready to serve our king and country upon all occasions?

Lastly, tell me whether it would be beneficial to the commonwealth to have all poor people maintained out of those arts. And every parish freed from their weekly payments to the poor, which if I do not make to appear, then let me accounted an unworthy fellow. But first let me set down another objection, which seems to be of great force, and yet in my conceit is like the rest, shallow, and that is this.

If, say they, there be so many plantations, there will be no room in the country for such ships as do come yearly to make voyages, and by this means ships shall lie still and decay, mariners and fishermen shall want employment, and so all will be out of frame if ever we should have wars. And therefore, howsoever it may be beneficial to some few persons, yet it will be hurtful to the commonwealth.

I answer, that if these things were thoroughly examined by his Majesty, the parliament, or council-table, it would plainly appear, that the most of them which keep such ado against plantations, are the greatest enemies to the public good, and that their show of care for the commonwealth is nothing but a color, for the more clearly concealing of their unknown profits. It will also appear that plantations are for the public good, and by that means there shall be more and better cheap ships built and employed, more mariners and fishermen kept to work than now there are, and more people partakers of the benefit than now there doth.

Which I prove thus: first, there may be timber had to build ships, and ground for corn and keeping of cattle, and all for little or nothing.

Secondly, there may be more men trained up in fishing

than now there is, whose trade is decayed in England, and they ready to starve for want of employments.

Thirdly, there may be twice so much fish taken every year as now there is. For ships that go to make voyages, seldom or never keep their boats at sea above two months or ten weeks for making their voyage, and I dare maintain that there is fish enough to be taken, seven months in the year, if men be there ready to take opportunities.

Fourthly, the more fish that is taken, the more ships there must be for the transportation of it.

Fifthly, whereas now none doth take the benefit, but a few merchants; not all the merchants in the land, no not one of a thousand;

By plantations, not only all the merchants in the land, but all the people in the land may partake thereof.

And now to shew you how the profit may arise.

CHAPTER VI.

Sheweth how by adventuring of a hundred pounds, more or less, a man may profit so much every year, for twenty years or longer, without any more charge than at the first.

I MUST confess I have studied no other art a long time but the mysteries of New England's trade, and I hope at last, I have attained to the understanding of the secrets of it, which I think the fishermen are sorry for; but it shall be no longer concealed, for that I think every good subject is bound to prefer the public before his own private good.

First, therefore, I will shew you the charge which every merchant is at yearly in sending their ships to fish there, and so near as I can the profit they make of such voyages. Then we will see the charge which planters must be at, in sending men over to stay there, and the profit they are likely to make, and so by comparing the one with the other, we shall see which is the better and more profitable course.

A ship of two hundred ton commonly doth carry in those

voyages fifty men; these men are at no charge but twenty shillings a man towards their victuals, neither have they any wages; but in lieu thereof, they have one third part of all the fish and train.

Another third part is allowed the owners of the ship for their fraught, and the other third part is allowed for the victual, salt, nets, hooks, lines and other implements for taking and making the fish.

The charge of victualling (which is usually for nine months,) the salt, &c., doth commonly amount to about eight hundred pounds; and for that they have (as I said one third part of the fish,) which is near sixty-seven ton, the ship being laden, which will make thirteen hundred and forty quintals, (at the market). Sometimes when they come to a good market they sell their fish for forty-four rials a quintal, and so to thirty-six rials, which is the least, but say they have forty, one time with another, and at that rate one-third of the ships' lading doth yield thirteen hundred and forty pounds, which they have for disbursing of eight hundred pounds nine months.

Now take notice that they are but eight or ten weeks in taking all their fish, and about one month longer in making it fit to be shipped.

Which being considered, then say that such men as are sent over to plant, have twelve months provision, which will amount to one thousand and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings four pence; these men stay in the country, and do take the benefit both of the first and last fishing season, and all other opportunities, the fishing continuing good at the least seven months in the year, though not all at one time; now I hope you will grant that they are as likely to take two ships lading as the other one, which if they do, one third thereof at the same rate will amount to two thousand six hundred and eighty pounds; the charge you are at being deducted, the profit is one thousand and nineteen pounds, six shillings, eight pence. Now tell me seriously, which is the more profitable course?

Again consider, that in all likelihood this fish is to be

taken in five months, then have you seven months more to employ your men in the country every year, about building of ships, cleaving of pipe-staves, or any other thing, and will that be worth nothing?

Truly this I will say, send men over but with eighteen months' provision, and cattle, and corn to plant, and other necessaries, and they shall afford you thus much profit yearly, without ever putting you to more charge, if God bless them with health, and you, from losses, (and I never heard of any great loss by adventuring thither) and that you be fitted with good and understanding men to oversee the business, who is able to direct them.

CHAPTER VII.

Sheweth how every parish may be freed of their weekly payments to the poor, by the profits which may be fetched thence with certain Objections against the things contained in this and the former chapter: with answers thereunto.

And thus have I shewed you what hopes there is of profit by plantations, yet have I shewed you no other means to raise it, but by fish and timber. I would not have you say there is nothing else in the country to make any benefit of; for I assure you it is well known to myself, and others who have been there, that there are divers other good things there to be had; but I do not love to speak of all at one time, but to reserve some to stop the mouths of such prating coxcombs as will never be satisfied with any reason, but will always cavil, though to little purpose.

And methinks I hear some such people buzzing in some other objections, and bidding me stay, and not fish before the net, for there are many lets, as these. There are many ships go that make not so good voyages as I speak of: for they are so long beaten in their passage, or on the coast, that the best of the fishing is past before they be there.

To that I answer, I speak not what every ship doth, but what some do, and all others may do, if they be in the country to take all opportunities.

2. Object. That it is not possible to make plantations so public a business, as that it should redound to the benefit of all the king's subjects. And again that there will never be so much money raised as to establish such plantations, for that most men of this age respects their own profit one hundred times more than the public good; and their hearts are so glued to the world, that they shall as soon hang them as draw anything from them, though it be never so charitable a use. And if it should be by way of commandment, it would be a grievance not to be endured.

But I would ask such men whether they be so void of charity, as that they will not do themselves good, because some others shall have some by it also? And whether they will be grieved at a man for shewing of them how, by the disbursing of twenty shillings, they shall have twenty shillings a year, for seven, ten or twenty years, and perhaps for ever.

My desire is not that any should be compelled, only this I could wish that every parish would adventure so much as they pay weekly to the relief of the poor (which is no great matter) and so every shire by itself would send over men to plant. And if after eighteen months they shall not yearly return so much profits continually as will keep their poor and ease their purses, (provided always, as I said before, that they send such men as are fit, and that the justices of every shire be careful to appoint such a man to be their captain and director as is honest, and of good understanding, and that God bless them from losses,) will I be contented to suffer death.

And yet let me tell you, that if it should please God, that once in seven years a ship should be cast away (which is more than hath been usual, for I dare say, that for every ship that is cast away in those voyages, there is one hundred which cometh safe) yet it is but that year's profit lost, and perhaps not half.

Another objection may be this, that all men are not fishermen, and that it is not so easy a thing to take fish, as I make it.

To that I answer, that take a survey of all the men that goeth in these voyages, and there shall not be found one-third of them that are merely fishermen, and no other trades.

Nay I know many ship-companies that have amongst them house carpenters, masons, smiths, tailors, shoemakers, and such like, and indeed it is most fit that they should be such: and I saw by experience, that divers who were never at sea before this year, proved very good fishermen; but I could wish that ever a fifth part of a company be fishermen, and the rest will quickly be trained up, and made skilful.

I would to God that some one shire or more would begin this godly and profitable course. For certainly, God hath created all for the use of man, and nothing hath he created in vain.

And if we will endure poverty in England wilfully, and suffer so good a country as this is to lie waste, I am persuaded we are guilty of a grievous sin against God, and shall never be able to answer it.

I could also wish, that the lords both spiritual and temporal, the knights and others to whom God hath given abundance of these outward things, would (for the honor of God, the comfort of the poor of our land) join together, and by a voluntary contribution raise a sum of money, and employ it this way; and that the profits might go to the maintaining of poor children, and training them up in this course, by which they may be kept from begging and stealing.

CHAPTER VIII.

Contains certain directions for all private persons that intend to go into New England to plant.

Next unto this I could wish that every private man that hath a desire this way, would consider these things which I will here set down, before he go too far, least he deprive himself of the profit I have showed may be had, and be one of those that repent when it is too late, and so bring misery upon himself, and scandalize the country, as others have done.

1. That it is a country where none can live except he either labor himself, or be able to keep others to labor for him.

2. If a man have a wife and many small children, not to come there, except for every three loiterers he have one worker; which, if he have, he may make a shift to live and not starve.

3. If a man have but as many good laborers as loiterers, he shall live much better there than in any place I know.

4. If all be laborers and no children, then let him not fear but to do more good there in seven years than in England in twenty.

5. Let no man go without eighteen months' provision, so shall he take the benefit of two seasons before his provision be spent.

6. Let as many plant together as may be, for you will find that very comfortable, profitable and secure.

FINIS.

ANNALS

OF

BAKERSTOWN, POLAND, AND MINOT.

BY WILLIAM LADD, ESQ.,

LATE OF MINOT.

THE whole tract under the present names of Poland and Minot, was originally called Bakerstown, from the following circumstance. A tract of land was granted, at a very early date, before the lines between New-Hampshire and the Province of Maine had been ascertained, probably to one Baker, by the state of Massachusetts, but when the line was run, the tract then called Bakerstown was found to be within the limits of New-Hampshire, and a new grant was made by the state of Massachusetts, in lieu of the other, comprising the present towns of Poland and Minot.

The grant was for 7½ miles square, but the limits of Bakerstown were extended to 12 or 14 miles square; a fraud common in those days.

Nathaniel Bailey was the first settler in Bakerstown. Daniel Lane was the second settler. Moses Emery was the third settler in Bakerstown, and the first in that part now called Minot.

1768. Bailey settled in Bakerstown. John Newman in 1769. Mr. Nevins's daughter was the first child born in Bakerstown.

Moses Emery, jr. was the first male child born in Bakerstown.

Moses Emery was the first settler in Minot; he was born in the year 1745, and gave most of these memorandums, in the year 1830, being then 86 years old.

1772. Moses Emery the elder moved from what is now called Poland, to what is now called Minot.

1773. Daniel Lane second settler in Minot. Indians then resident in the neighborhood of Bakerstown. Philip, Swanton, Lazarus, Sabattus, Cookish, and others. Perepole was the last of the Androscoggin tribe.

Emery kept a ferry at what was afterwards called Emery's Mills, since Payne's Mills, Dunn's Mills, &c. Many moose and beaver were in Bakerstown when he first settled; he used to hunt them on snow-shoes, and he carried usually a pocket compass with him. He often bivouacked or "camped," as they call it, in the open air in winter, and sometimes had the snow three inches deep on him, when he awaked in the morning. Once, going out without his gun, he came across a she-bear with two cubs, under a windfall. The bear made toward him, and he retreated backward, being afraid to turn lest the bear should seize him behind; she followed, grinning and growling, with her mouth near to his, he still retreating and feeling on the ground for a stick or club, with which to defend himself. At length, it came into his head to throw her his jacket, for her to vent her rage upon, but as soon as he began to take off his jacket, the bear was frightened and ran away with her cubs. In his moose hunts, his partner had once wounded a moose, and his dog had him by the nose, but the moose swung the dog to and fro, without being able to shake him off, and was making directly at Emery, when he flung the dog against a tree which broke the dog's hold, and the moose sprung directly at Emery, and probably would have killed him, but just at that moment another shot from his partner brought the moose to the ground. Emery's gun would not go off. Preparing to encamp one night, in a snow storm, he saw a moose which he wounded, and his dog got him by the nose, but the moose trampled the dog who would not let go his hold, to death, and both expired together.

1782. Mr. Chandler Freeman and his brother Samuel removed from Duxbury, Mass., and began a settlement at the place where he now (1830) lives.

Among the first settlers were Bray, Willcome, Safford, Hawke, Buckman, Dwinal, Shaw, Vareal, &c.

1784. Chandler Freeman's family removed to Bakerstown, together with his father, Jos. Freeman and his wife.

The number of families having increased to 60 or 70 Jos. Freeman set up the public worship of God in his son's house. Sermons were read, with prayers and singing, conducted chiefly by Joseph Freeman. The inhabitants of the northern parts of what was afterward called Minot generally attended.

1785. A remarkable freshet. There has not been any since as high. The water in the Little Androscoggin rose 8 feet, and was 3 feet deep on the island at Emery's mills.

1786. Samuel Pool removed to Bakerstown.

The Rev. Mr. Foxcroft of New Gloucester, the Rev. Mr. Gilman of North Yarmouth, and the Rev. Mr. Williams of Falmouth, occasionally preached in Bakerstown.

1788. July 3d. Olive, the daughter of Samuel Freeman deceased, was baptized by the Rev. John Strickland of Turner, having been offered in baptism by her grand parents.

1791. First revival of religion. The Rev. Wait Cornwell, missionary from Connecticut, preached and administered baptism, and promoted the revival. The people did something for his support.

Sept. 8th. The first congregational church was gathered, consisting of 39 members. Mr. Joseph Freeman was chosen moderator. The council met at the house of Mr. Jonathan Bradford, and consisted of the following persons;

Churches.	*Pastors.*	*Delegates.*
New Gloucester.	Saml. Foxcroft.	Peleg Chandler.
North Yarmouth.	No pastor.	Dea. John Southworth
Freeport.	Alfred Johnson.	(no delegate.)
Missionary.	Rev. Wait Cornwell,	do.

Nov. 30. The first meeting of the first church in Bakerstown, was held at the house of Chandler Freeman, and the following officers chosen, viz.,

Joseph Freeman, Deacon,

Moses Bradbury, do.

Noah Hersey, "leader in the worship of singing."

Voted, To read the psalm in the forenoon worship line by line, as it was singing, but otherwise in the afternoon.

A considerable number of those first received into the Church, afterwards fell under censure, and many turned Baptists.

This year was remarkable for grasshoppers, and is still called the "grasshopper year." They ate the Indian corn and potatoes down to the ground, so that in some fields not a bushel of potatoes was raised.

1792. May 12. Deacon Joseph Freeman died, aged 65. His son Chandler Freeman was chosen deacon in his place, but there remains no record of the date of his election.

1793. The Rev. Jonathan Scott, who had been ordained at Middleburgh, Mass., over a church in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, there being then no congregational ministers in that province, came to Bakerstown, as a preacher of the gospel, by request of the church, Dec. 11th, and returned to Nova Scotia; he again visited Bakerstown in Sept. 1794.

1794. The first congregational meeting house built near Reuben Chandler's in June.

Oct. 12. Mr. Scott promised the people of Bakerstown in writing, that he would come and settle among them. He was to have three dollars for each sabbath's preaching, but nothing for travelling expenses.

1795. The Rev. Mr. Scott's family removed from Nova Scotia to Bakerstown, and arrived May 1st. Same time Doctor Jesse Rice arrived from Nova Scotia. Caroline, widow of Deacon Joseph Freeman, died about this time.

This year the first Methodist church was formed; Joel Ketchum was the first Methodist minister.

1796. By a covenant dated April 18th, 98 persons agree to the support of Mr. Scott, and gave him a call to settle with them.

May 28th. Mr. Scott accepted a call to settle in Poland, on a salary of 65 pounds lawful money, and the land allowed for the first settled minister, which land was never obtained. In his acceptance, he says, "but know for certainty that I never shall nor will enter any law process against you, as a society, or any individual of you, on the strength or bond of that covenant, and I do hereby forever put it out of the power of my heirs, administrators or assigns, to do it while I live or after my death."

July 27th. The Rev. Jonathan Scott was installed over the first congregational church in Bakerstown; Council—

Rev. Sam. Eaton, of Harpswell.

Rev. Tristram Gilman, of North Yarmouth.

Rev. Alfred Johnson, of Freeport.

About this time, James Dunham and Job Cushman, members of the first church, turned Baptists, and the latter began to preach.

Bakerstown incorporated by the name of Poland; Moses Emery, sen., agent at the Gen. Court of Massachusetts.

1800. Canker-rash very rife in Poland.

1802. Minot set off from Poland by the General Court of Massachusetts, and incorporated into a town by itself. Feb. 7th.

April 5th. The first town meeting of the town of Minot, was held in the schoolhouse at the foot of the hill, near Mr. Shaw's; warrant issued by Nathaniel Adams of New Gloucester to Nicholas Noyes of Minot. First selectmen, Nicholas Noyes, Wm. Briggs and John Chandler; first treasurer and town clerk, Chandler Freeman; committee to settle accounts with Poland, Doctor Jesse Rice, Ichabod King and Samuel Shaw.

At a town meeting, "*Voted*, to raise a sum of money for the use of the destruction of the crows." "*Voted*, 12 cents and 5 mills on the head." "*Voted*, that the selectmen shall receive the heads and burn them, and give orders on the treasury for the bounty." (This bounty was afterwards increased to 20 cents, Dec. 12, 1803, but the vote was after-

wards rescinded.) "*Voted*, to buy two palls to cover the dead." "*Voted*, to raise 50 dollars for the use of the town."

1803, April 14. "*Voted*, to raise $600 for the use of schools." This is the first vote of the kind on the records.

May. "*Voted*, to build a pound near Nicholas Noyes's."

"*Voted*, that the poor shall be put up at vendue."

"*Voted*, *not* to build a meeting house."

"*Voted*, not to send a representative."

1804, April 6th. Town meeting at the congregational society's meeting house.

"*Voted*, to build a bridge near Nason's mills with Poland."

May meeting. "*Voted*, to number the children on the first day of May, and all over four years of age to draw an equal proportion of school money."

Sept. 8th. First meeting of proprietors for building a meeting house near the centre of the town of Minot.

Sept. 27th. Town meeting at the old meeting house, opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Scott. "*Voted*, *not* to build a meeting house in the centre of the town, and *voted* not to build two meeting houses.

1804, Nov. 5th. At town meeting, *voted*, to accept six different places for burial grounds, but there was no vote for burying.

Nov. 27th. At a town meeting, the town consented to the incorporation of a congregational society, Ayes 54, Nays 29.

1805, May 6th. It was voted to divide the town into two parishes, and to have the town meetings half the time at Mr. Scott's meeting house, and half the time at Deacon James Perkins'.

May 29th. The east meeting house was raised; Mr. Scott prayed.

July 3d. The centre meeting house was raised. As Mr. Scott had always opposed the building of this meeting house, it was with great reluctance, that after repeated solicitation he consented to make the prayer, the language of which, as might have been expected, gave great offence to the proprietors of the house.

July 5th. Mr. Scott requested a dismission from the church, and made a more formal request in writing, dated July 10th, which was read on the same day at the old west meeting house, and also before the "covenanted society," assembled at the same place, July 19th. The reason for his requesting a dismission was the building of the centre meeting house by a part of his church and society, to which altogether, especially the location, he urged strong objections.

Aug. 21st. An ecclesiastical council was convened in Minot, consisting of the following ministers, viz. Tristram Gilman, Samuel Eaton, Jacob Herrick, Elisha Moseley, Amasa Smith, Eliphalet Gillet and their delegates, who took into consideration "the difficulties which had existed between the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Scott and the Church and Society under his pastoral care." Adjourned to the next day.

Aug. 22d. Convened at the old meeting house, (sometimes called the proprietors' meeting house, and also, at that time, the west meeting house,) Mr. Scott laid before the Council a long, written memorial, in which he complains that a part of his church and society had persisted in building the centre meeting house, which he thinks will cause great dissensions and divisions,—that the house had been built contrary to the vote of the town, &c., &c., and that he had, in a manner, been compelled to pray at the raising of the house, against his will. It was "*Voted*, unanimously to dissolve the pastoral relation between the Rev. Jonathan Scott and the church and people under his care."

It appears that, nevertheless, Mr. Scott continued to preach to that part of the church and congregation engaged in building the last meeting house, and acted as moderator of the church.

Sept. 23d. At a town meeting, "*Voted*, to choose a disinterested committee, out of town, to fix the division line [of equal parishes] to consist of three, viz., Judge Carey, of Turner, Dominicus Record, of Buckfield and John H. Smith, Esqr." Adjourned to Nov. 18. Met according to adjournment, and "*Voted*, not to accept the report of the disinterested committee."

About this time, Nov. 13 and 14, one or more papers were signed, to engage Mr. Scott to preach for six months, and also for eighteen months, of which papers little or no use was ever made.

1806. It seems that the dissensions in the church and society, on account of building the centre meeting house, increased, and that a part of the church, about twelve, had met for worship in a separate place, which gave great offence to their brethren.

June 17th. 7 males and 7 females, 14 in all, signed a request to the church, to be set off from the church and erected into a separate church by themselves, on account of their living in the west of Minot, and therefore suffering great inconvenience in attending worship in the east. These persons were among the number of those who had been, and then were, engaged in building the centre meeting house, so that in fact their request was for a separate church in the centre.

June 26th. By a vote of the church, the request of the 14 members to be set off as a church was granted, in the usual form, and communicated to the petitioners in a certificate signed by Mr. Scott as moderator, dated July 1st.

There are copies of two subscription papers for the support of Mr. Scott, one dated July 7, with the subscriptions of 13 members of the church for the amount of $68, and one dated Oct. 20th, of 35 subscribers to the society for the amount of $77, in all $145, which appears to be the amount of compensation *promised* to Mr. Scott for his services, but he never got half, probably not a quarter of it.

Aug. 13th. An offer was made to Mr. Scott to settle, on condition that each party might withdraw at six months notice, which he declined.

About this time, also, there appears to have been a subscription paper, for the support of Mr. Scott for 18 months.

In fact there are a great many copies of subscription papers and covenants, dated about this time, most of which, if not all of them, came to nothing, and Mr. Scott was dependent on his little farm and his daily labor for his support.

Aug. 15th. The first church by a committee gave a verbal call to Mr. Scott to settle with them.

Oct. 15th. An ecclesiastical council was called by the seceders for the purpose of forming a second church. The churches represented at this council were as follows;

Churches.	*Ministers.*	*Delegates.*
Durham,	Jacob Herrick,	James Hubbard.
New Gloucester,	Elisha Mosely,	Moses Merrill. / E. Mason.
Gray,	Daniel Weston,	Moses Humphrey.

It was voted, to receive the persons, 16 in all, and "acknowledge them as a church, to be known by the name of the Second Congregational Church in Minot." Moses Bradbury was chosen first deacon and Moderator, Isaac Allen second deacon, and Samuel Vareal clerk. A number of others were afterward dismissed from the First Church and joined the Second Church.

Sunday, Oct. 26th. Mr. Scott read to the church his acceptance of their call, dated on the day before.

Nov. 12th. An ecclesiastical council convened in Minot, from the following

Churches.	*Ministers.*
Harpswell,	Sam. Eaton.
Durham,	Jacob Herrick.
New Gloucester,	Elisha Mosely.
Hallowell,	Eliphalet Gillet.

The several subscription papers having been laid before the council, they proceeded to install the Rev. Jonathan Scott over the First Congregational Church in Minot, worshipping in the East meeting house.

1806. Dec. 29. First town-meeting in the centre meeting house.

1807. The Rev. Mr. Scott's dwelling house was burnt, with his youngest son. Feb. 8th. The parish then gave the old meeting house to Mr. Scott for a dwelling house, and moved it to the site of the house which was burnt, and

where Mr. Scott died. The records of the church except a few loose papers were burnt with the house. March 18. The First Church met at the East meeting house. Doctor Jesse Rice chosen second deacon. Dec. 10. John Staples Craft chosen 3d deacon.

1807. At town meeting, the town voted in favor of the incorporation of Chandler Freeman and others, agreeably to their petition, to be set off as a parish by themselves, with certain provisos.

June 30. Mr. Scott received a commission from the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians in N. America, to act as a missionary for two months, which was laid before the church, and at the request of the church was declined.

Sept. 1st. The first church kept a day of fasting and prayer, "that God would appear for our nation, and remove the calamities we are smarting under by embargo, and prevent the calamity of war with which the nation is threatened," and other subjects.

1809. The first town meeting for the choice of a representative to the General Court of Massachusetts. There were 34 candidates. Doctor Seth Chandler had 112 votes out of 308, but the record does not say who was finally elected, and many of the records are without date. There seems to have been no political division, but the town was considered as almost wholly democratic.

Sept. Votes for representative, 242; Dr. Seth Chandler had 142.

Nov. 7th. The second church voted to give a call to the Rev. William Pidgin to be their minister.

Dec. 21. A letter missive was sent to the first church to request their aid in the council to settle Wm. Pidgin.

1811. Jan. 1. The first church met to "hear and determine on a letter missive from the second church, requesting a delegation to assist at the installation of the Rev. Wm. Pidgin." The first church chose a committee to meet a committee from the second church, if one should be appointed, to try to adjust the difficulties between them. A

meeting of the committees took place January 9th, but no reconciliation was effected at this time.

Jan. 15. An ecclesiastical council convened for the purpose of installing the Rev. Wm. Pidgin over the second church. Present,

Pastors.	*Delegates.*
Elisha Mosely,	B. Loring,
Amasa Smith,	Wm. Sweetser, and Benjamin Blanchard,
John Dutton,	Joshua Mitchell,
Noah Cresy,	Timothy Stone,
Francis Brown,	John Hayes, Jacob Mitchell, James Hibbard.

Chose Mr. Mosely Moderator and Mr. Brown Scribe, and after sundry examinations, adjourned to the next day.

Jan. 16th. Council met according to adjournment. "Doubts arose from peculiar circumstances, whether it is expedient *now* to proceed to the installation." Council dissolved.

Jan. 23d. The 2d. church again invited the 1st church to reconciliation, which was not effected.

Feb. 26. A council was convened, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Mosely, Herrick, Weston, Miltimore, Smith, and Creasy, with their delegates.

27th. Rev. Mr. Pidgin installed over the second congregational church in Minot.

There appears to have been but little, if any, additions to the churches, so that the number of members in both churches remained about the same as it was before the separation.

1812. Votes for Representative, 225; Jonathan Nash had 115. Political divisions begin between democratic and federal parties. Nash, democrat.

1813. Votes for Representative 235. Jacob Hill, Esq., (Fed.) had 138.

1814. April 4. At town meeting, Jacob Hill, Esq., was chosen town agent. "*Voted* to choose a committee to go to

Dr. Snell, (then living at Winthrop,) for advice for the disorder, (typhus fever,) increasing in the town."

May 2d. Votes for representative, Jacob Hill, (Fed.) had 126, Charles Moody, (Dem.) 120.

Godfrey Grosvenor removed from New Gloucester to Minot.

June. Wm. Ladd removed from Portsmouth, N. H., to Minot.

About this time, many influential men changed their politics from democratic to federal.

July 4. An oration at the centre meeting house by Wm. Ladd, and a public dinner in a grove near Marshall Washburn's.

1815. Votes for representative, Godfrey Grosvenor, (Fed.) 123, Charles Moody, (Dem.) 79.

July 8. Remarkably cold weather for three weeks.

Aug. 22. A frost in the low ground.

1816. April 24. Jesse Rice, Esq., 2d. deacon of the first church, died.

May 6. Deacon John Staples Craft, 3d. deacon of the first church, died.

1816. This year the town sent two Representatives. First choice,

Wm. Ladd, (Fed.) had 120 votes.

Charles Moody, (Dem.) had 59 votes.

Second choice,

Seth Chandler, (Fed.) had 128 votes.

Charles Moody, (Dem.) had 60 votes.

May 20. The town voted on the question of the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, ayes, 89, noes, 108.

These two or three years have since been known by the name of the "cold seasons."

August. An attempt at a reconciliation of the churches, was made by the second church, which failed.

Sept. 16. Chose Godfrey Grosvenor and Wm. Ladd to attend the convention at Brunswick to form a constitution, if there should be five-ninths of the votes of Maine in favor of a separation.

1817. Feb. 14. Remarkably cold night.

March 18. Remarkably great snow storm.

Votes for representative, 124. Dr. Keith, (Fed.) had 69, and was chosen. The democratic party voted for him, in opposition to Wm. Ladd, having no candidate of their own party.

April 22d. The church met, and after a conversation with Mr. Pidgin, voted to call a council for advice, leaving the nomination of the whole council with him.

The council met May 19, and resulted in the suspension of Mr. Pidgin for six months.

1818. This year it was voted not to send a representative to the General Court.

July 30th. Samuel Pool was chosen second deacon of the first church.

Oct. 1st. The first frost this season.

1819. Votes for representative 189; Elder George Ricker, (Dem.) Baptist minister, had 98 votes. The parish difficulties prevented a choice by the Federalists.

July 26. The town voted on the question of a separation of Maine from Massachusetts, ayes, 100, noes 95.

Chose Chandler Freeman, (Fed.) and Asaph Howard (Dem.,) delegates to a convention for forming a constitution for the State of Maine. No opposition.

Aug. 4. The second church voted to dismiss Mr. Pidgin without a recommendation.

Aug. 15. Sunday Mr. Pidgin preached his farewell sermon to his friends.

1819. Oct. 13th. First frost this year.

Oct. 15th. The Rev. Jonathan Scott died, aged 75 years and 3 days, in the 51st year of his ministry. The Rev. Mr. Thurston, of Winthrop, preached his funeral sermon.

Nov. 9. A snow storm.

Dec. 5. The second church met and sent a communication to the first church, on the subject of an union.

Dec. 6. The town voted to accept the new constitution for the State of Maine, ayes 57, noes, 13.

Dec. 13. At a meeting of the first church, Deacon Chandler Freeman was chosen moderator, and Amos Hersey

scribe; chose a committee to confer with the second church, as to appointing a day of fasting and prayer.

Dec. 23. The second church chose a committee to meet the committee of the first church.

1820. Jan. 13. The two churches met together at the house of Zebulon Davis, and spent the day in religious exercises and mutual confession of faults.

April 3d. Asaph Howard, (Dem.) chosen representative to new General Court [the first Legislature], to meet at Portland, and to continue for the next year, commencing in January. The representatives are hereafter chosen in September to serve the next year.

May 26. A remarkable snow storm, apple trees in blossom, sleighs out.

Aug. 15. The two churches met for religious exercises at the house of Zebulon Davis.

Rev. Mr. Simson preaching about this time.

Aug. 24. A fast on account of the extraordinary drought.

Oct. 9. First hard frost this year.

Nov. 3d. Snow storm.

1821. Votes for representative, 285; Godfrey Grosvenor, (Fed.) had 155.

Sept. The Rev. Mr. Jones having been invited, arrived and preached as a candidate.

Sept. 27. At a regular church meeting, held at the centre meeting house, it was resolved unanimously, that it is expedient that the two congregational churches in this town be united in one.

Chose a committee to meet a committee of the first church, to revise the articles of faith and the covenants, and to draft new ones.

Oct. 18th. At a meeting of the two churches, present the Rev. Elijah Jones, *Voted*, to accept the articles of faith and the covenant submitted to the churches by the committee appointed for that purpose.

Thus the churches were united under the name of the "United Congregational Church," after a painful separation of fifteen years.

1822. Jan. 1. The United Congregational Society, consisting of one hundred members, formed into a full parish, according to law, united with the church in giving the Rev. Mr. Jones a call to settle in the ministry, with but one dissenting voice, for $300 per year, without a parsonage. This was declined by Mr. Jones for want of a parsonage.

Deacon Bradbury died in his sleigh on returning from meeting.

Willard H. Woodbury, (Dem.) chosen representative by one or two majority.

In the course of the summer an attempt was made to build a parsonage, by subscription, which failed.

Wm. Ladd offered a small parsonage and other privileges, and on this condition Mr. Jones accepted the call.

1823. Jan. 1. The United Congregational Church and Society gave a second call to the Rev. Elijah Jones, having abolished the poll parish, and begun on a new plan of subscription for five years, and chose a committee of arrangements for the ordination.

About this time the Rev. Elijah Jones signified his consent to the call.

1823. Feb. 12. The Rev. Elijah Jones ordained over the United Congregational Church Society, worshipping at the centre and the east meeting house in Minot. The ordination took place at the east meeting house, and the council were entertained at Major Pollard's.

COUNCIL.

Churches.	*Pastors.*	*Delegates.*
New Gloucester,	Elisha Mosely,	Dr. Isaac Parsons.
Winthrop,	David Thurston,	Br. Jonas Stephens.
Pownal,	Perez Chapin,	Dr. Simeon Jones.
Sumner,	Samuel Sewall,	Br. James Hersey.
Otisfield,	Josiah G. Merrill,	Br. Moses Allen.
Paris and Norway,	Joseph Walker,	Dr. Caleb Prentiss, Br. Joseph Bradbury.
Turner,	Allen Greely,	Dr. Ezry Carey, Br. Maurice Carey.

Together with the Rev. John Smith, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Bangor.

Rev. ELISHA MOSELEY, Moderator,
ALLEN GREELY, Scribe,
PROF. SMITH, Preacher.

1823. April 10th. A great snow storm.

May 4th. The "United Church" held its first communion. The confession of faith was publicly read, and then all the members present rose and renewed covenants.

Members residing in town,—	males,	15,	females, 22 total 37
Members residing out of town,	males, 6	" 7	" 13
	21	29	50

May 31. Chandler Freeman drowned while washing sheep.

W. Woodbury, (Dem.) chosen representative by a great majority.

Sept. 22d. Frost.

Considerable attention to religion; 23 members received into the United Congregational Church before the end of the year.

1824. Willard H. Woodbury, (Dem,) chosen representative.

Nov. 13th. Good sleighing.

Seventeen members received into the United Congregational Church this year.

Dec. 25th. The first address before the Minot Peace Society, at the centre meeting house, by Jacob Hill, Esq., printed.

1825. Statistics of Minot this year.

School Houses,	20
Grist Mills,	6
Fulling Mills,	2
Bark Mills and Tanneries,	3
Carding Machines,	2
Number of Inhabitants (by census of 1820,)	2,525
Number of families,	402
Social Libraries,	4

Number of acres of land, - - - 34,760
Meeting-houses, - - - - - 4
Post Offices, - - - - - 4
One Congregational Society, Rev. Elijah Jones.
One Baptist Society, Elder G. Ricker.
One Methodist do. Rev. Moses Emery.
One other Congregationalist, partly in Hebron, destitute.
One other Baptist, partly in Hebron, Elder G. Tripp.
One or two Free-Will Baptists.
One Tract Society, one Missionary Society, congregational.
One do. Baptist, two associations auxiliary.
Two Foreign Missions, one Sabbath School Society.
One lodge of Free Masons, one lawyer, three ministers.
Four physicians, and four or five men of liberal education.
Three tavern keepers, about ten shop keepers.

May 5th. A violent snow storm.

Votes for Representative,

Willard H. Woodbury. (Dem.)	94
Jacob Hill, (Fed.)	93

Seventeen members received into the United Congregational Church this year.

Dec. 21. Second anniversary of the Minot Peace Society. Address at the east meeting house by Simeon Perkins, A. M. printed.

1826. May 15th. Heat at 90° at 5 P. M.

June 14. The Cumberland Conference of Churches held its meeting in the centre meeting house. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered; 64 persons were received into the church. About 600 communicants set down to the Lord's table; about 1500 attended the meeting; a collection of $118 93-100 was taken up. The day was uncommonly fine, and the meeting extremely interesting, and a day long to be remembered by many.

Dec. 25. Address before the Minot Peace Society at the centre meeting house, it being the 3d anniversary, by E. Little.

Votes for Representative, 297.

W. H. Woodbury, (Dem.) had 163.

102 persons received into the United Congregational Church this year.

1827. June 4th. Mr. Samuel Shaw, one of the first settlers in the town, died, aged 79.

June 23d, 1827. Universalist society formed.

Votes for representative.

Charles Moody, (Dem.) 99.
Godfrey Grosvenor, (Fed.) 53.
Daniel Briggs, (Do.) 11.

Address before the Minot Peace Society, by Doctor Jesse Mighels.

Six persons received into the U. C. Church this year.

1828, April 7th. At a meeting of the United C. Church, it was voted, that the Rev. E. Jones, Wm. Ladd and be a committee to draw up some resolutions on the subject of *temperance*, and lay them before the next church meeting.

June 2d. Passed five resolutions on the subject of *temperance*.

New party divisions have taken place in politics.

Votes for representatives, 471.

Benj. Johnson, (Adams' party,) 257.
Charles Moody, (Jackson party,) 209.
Scattering, 5.

Nov. 5th. Address before the Minot Peace Society, by Rev. E. Jones.

Dec. 1st. Josiah Little, Esq., chosen deacon in the place of Chandler Freeman, resigned on account of age.

Dec. 9th. Ground open and ploughing done.

Six persons received into the United C. Church this year.

1829. Votes for representative,

Benjamin Johnson, (Adams,)	235
Willard H. Woodbury, (Jackson,)	209
Scattering,	2
Whole number of votes,	446

Two persons received into the church this year.

Address before the Minot Peace Society, by Wm. Ladd.

1830. Votes for representative,

Elder George Ricker, (Adams,)	241
W. H. Woodbury, (Jackson,)	225
Scattering,	6
Whole number,	472

Four persons received into the church this year.

Valuation of 1830.

Taxable Polls,	494
Inhabitants,	2908
Paupers supported by the town,	25
Expense of their support,	$530,07
Dwelling houses,	392
Barns,	424
Stores for sale of merchandize,	8
Tanneries,	3
Work-shops and out-buildings over $20 value,	169
School districts and school houses,	22
Grist mills,	6
Saw mills,	9
Clapboard machine,	1
Shingle machines,	5
Sugar box machine,	1
Clothing mills,	2
Acres of tillage land,	1211
Tons of upland hay cut,	2652
Acres of pasturage,	4061
Barrels of cider made,	892
Horses and colts,	477
Horned stock of all ages, over 1 year,	2802
Sheep, native, 1 year old, 2023 / Do. Merino and mixed, 1 year old, 4663	6686

Meeting houses, 4. Church members, U. C., above 200

There has been another Universalist society formed since the first. The number of Universalist male members is said to be about 80, probably including individuals out of

town. There is no regular Universalist preaching. There are about 85 Members of the Methodist church.

There are a number of Free-Will baptists.

No Quakers, or Roman Catholics, no professed infidels.

The town of Minot has two ponds in it, which nearly separate the town into two parts, there being but a narrow isthmus between them; Wilson pond is three miles long and about two wide, and Taylor pond two miles long and one mile wide. Lewiston falls are partly in the town, which is bounded on the east by the Great Androscoggin river, and for a great part of the way by the Little Androscoggin. On both rivers, but particularly on the last, are many mill sites. Salmon were common at Lewiston falls before the dam was built below, but there are none now. The town is hilly, but not mountainous, the rocks chiefly granite. Garnets and chrystallized quartz are common. One specimen of emerald ore has been found, hexagon, 5 inches long, 4 wide, semi-transparent.

Occupation of the inhabitants, chiefly agriculture, next lumbering, manufacturing and mechanical trades. Fencing, 1st, hedge fence, so called, being trees felled in the direction in which the fence is wanted; 2d, log fence, in which the limbs of the trees are cut off, and the logs laid regularly three or four high; 3d, post and rail fence; 4th, half wall, with two or three rails above; 5th, stone wall. There is but little Virginia fence, or hitch pole, or board and stakes. Lumber, 1st, pine boards and plank; 2d, clapboards and shingles, both split and sawed; 3d, oak and other hard wood plank; 4th, sugar boxes for the Havana market; 5th, shooks and staves.

Manufactures are of chairs and other furniture, leather and various works in leather, such as shoes, saddles, harness, &c., wagons, ploughs, hats, Leghorn straw and chip hats and bonnets, blacksmith's work, domestic work in wool, flax and cotton. Portland is the nearest market town.

THE

NARRAGANSETT TOWNSHIPS.

BY

CHARLES COFFIN, ESQ.

To the Secretary of the Maine Historical Society:

SIR—

Having recently perused a letter from J. Farmer of Amherst, N. H. to the Rev. Dr. Holmes, on the seven Narragansett townships, published in the 2d. Vol., third series, of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, I am led to believe, from so good a beginning, that materials for a full and correct history of these townships may hereafter be obtained.

Mr. Farmer is clear and satisfactory as to the time and manner of these grants, and to whom granted; but as to the location and present names of these townships, he is more at a loss, especially as relates to those situated in Maine.

Being a native of one of the two of these townships which are situated in Maine, I feel disposed that Mr. Farmer should have the benefit of my local knowledge, as to the situation of these two townships, and thereby be induced to revise his communication to Dr. Holmes, and let the public have the benefit of it. As Mr. Farmer has omitted publishing an account of the memorable event which occasioned these grants, it is here given in the language of Cotton Mather. "The Commissioners of the United Colonies having manifest and manifold proofs, that the great nation of the Narragansett Indians, with whom the rest were now

harbored, had not only broken their articles of peace with the English in divers instances, but were also plotting to begin a war against them in the spring, when they should have the leaves of the trees to befriend them, took a general resolution, in the depth of winter, to make a vigorous expedition against them. Accordingly an army, at first consisting of a thousand, and afterwards of fifteen hundred men, under the conduct of the truly honorable Josiah Winslow, Esqr., marched into the Narragansett country, where they no sooner arrived on Dec. 12, (1675) but about forty Indians feel into their hands; among whom was a fellow named Peter, who having received some disgust from his countrymen, proved so faithful and useful a guide unto our forces, that they afterwards found that they could not well have lived without him. Several mischiefs were done by the Indians whilst our army were here waiting for their brethren from Connecticut, especially their surprisal of a remote garrison belonging to one Bull, where about fourteen persons were baited to death by the terrible dogs.

But the Connecticut forces being also arrived on Dec. 18, they presently marched away by break of day the next morning, through cold and snow, and very amazing difficulties, enough to have damped any ordinary fortitude, for eighteen miles together. The Indians had a fort raised upon an island of about five or six acres, in the midst of a horrid swamp, which fort, besides its palisadoes, had a kind of wall or hedge, about a rod thick, encompassing it.

The entrance of this fort was upon a long tree over the water, where but one man could pass at a time, and this was waylaid after such a manner, that if our men had attempted that passage, they must have perished.

Only by the help of Peter they discovered a vulnerable heel, as I may call it, yet left in the fort at one corner, where there was a gap supplied only with long trees about four or five feet from the ground, over which the men might force their way; though against this they had built a block house, from whence a bloody storm of bullets, (and enough to make every man like the poor man in the twelve signs

of the almanack) was to be expected by them that should make their approaches there. Our men came up to the swamp, from whence the Indians began to fire upon 'em. They advanced into that part of the fort which was the most accessible: now having of nothing but *mors certa, aut victoria lœta*, in their eye.

Brave Captain Mosely and Captain Davenport led the van; Captain Gardner and Captain Johnson were in the centre, Major Appleton and Captain Oliver brought up the rear of the Massachusetts forces, General Winslow with Plymouth forces, under Major Bradford and Captain Goram, marched in the centre, and Connecticut forces, under Major Treat and Captain Siely, Captain Gallop, Captain Mason, Captain Watts, and Captain Marshall, made up the rear of the whole body.

Nothing in the world could be more magnanimous than the spirit which now carried on both leaders and soldiers, in the enterprise now before them; they leaped over the trees of death, into the spot of ground where death in all its terrors was to be encountered; the fall of the valiant leaders, no less than six of them, namely, Davenport, Gardiner, Johnson, Gallop, Siely and Marshall, did but add fire to the rage of the soldiers; they beat the enemy from one shelter to another, till they had utterly driven them out of all their *sconces;* at last they set fire to the fort, from whence the surviving Indians fled into a vast cedar swamp at some distance off.

I wish I could particularly give an immortal memory to all the brave men that signalized themselves in this action. No less than seven hundred fighting Indians were destroyed, as it was afterwards confessed, in this desperate action; besides three hundred which afterwards died of their wounds, and old men, women and children, *sans* number; but of the English about eighty-five were slain, and an hundred and fifty wounded.

Had the assault been deferred one day longer, there fell such a storm of snow, that for divers weeks it must have been impracticable, and at the end of those weeks, there

came so violent and unusual a thaw, that by making the way to the fort impassable, it would have rendered it still more impracticable. But now was the time for this work; and the work being so far accomplished, our forces retreating after daylight was almost spent, found it necessary to go back, with many wounded, and more weary men, unto their head quarters, near eighteen miles off, in a dismal night, through hardships that an whole age would hardly parallel; which if the remaining enemies had known, they might have cut off all our enfeebled and bewildered army.

However such a blow was now given to the enemy, as never could be recovered! and our forces having in some following weeks made now and then some happy gleanings of their late victory, until the enemy was gone, they knew not whither, they returned unto their several homes until the next occasion."

The Narragansett country was situated in what is now the southwest part of Rhode Island, and northeast part of Connecticut; Groton and Stonington, in Connecticut, and Westerly and Charlestown in Rhode Island, are some of the towns in that country.

Gen. Winslow's head quarters were in the present town of Swansey, not far from Taunton, eighteen miles distant from the place of action. The number of fighting Indians opposed to Winslow, was three thousand five hundred. They once drove him from their fort, but by the great exertions of Winslow, Appleton, Treat and Bradford, it was regained; when the Indians retreated, but not till their ammunition was expended. The troops under Winslow must have suffered greatly, not only in killed and wounded, but from the severity of the weather, and a march of thirty-six miles, and an action of three hours' continuance, all in the space of about twenty-four hours, for they left their camp on the morning of the 19th of December, 1675, and returned to it on the morning of the 20th.

The following is Mr. Farmer's account of the grant of the Narragansett townships to those who were engaged in the above action, or their legal representatives.

"Having lately examined some original records and manuscripts, which relate to the Narragansett townships, granted by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1728 and 1733, I conceived that a communication repecting them might be proper for your collections. The history of the grants of these townships has been illustrated by no historians whom I have consulted. The only information I find concerning them, is given by Douglass, in his Summary, and Hutchinson, in his history of Massachusetts. The former, in a note to page 424, vol. I. says, nine townships were voted, but only seven granted to the descendants of the Narragansett or Pequod soldiers, 1637, called Narragansett townships."*

Hutchinson, (vol. 2, page 299,) in speaking of the grants made about that period, 1727, observes, "the government, under the old charter and the new, had been very prudent in the distribution of the territory. * *

"But all on a sudden, plans are laid for grants of vast tracts of unimproved land, and the last session of Mr. Dummer's administration, a vote passed the two houses appointing a committee to lay out three lines of towns, &c. Pretences were encouraged and even sought after, to entitle persons to become grantees. The posterity of all the officers and soldiers who served in the famous Narragansett expedition, in 1675, were the first pitched upon, those who were in the unfortunate attempt upon Canada, in 1690, were to come next."†

It will be my object to give a brief view of the Narragansett grants, a short account of the several townships, and

* Dr. Douglass confounds the Narragansett with the Pequod war. The Pequod war occurred, as he states, in 1637. The Narragansett war did not occur till 1675.

† "Nine townships were granted to the heirs of the militia or soldiers who went against Canada, 1690, and were called Canada townships. A parcel of these townships, the furthest up in the country, run west, 5 and a half degrees south, across from Merrimac river 35 miles to Connecticut river, as a barrier against the Indians; they are called the double line of towns, whereof Nos. 3, 8 and 9 are very mountainous, rocky and stony, not capable of settlement; No. 4 and 7 are the best lands." *Douglass. Ibid.*

the names of the towns to which they were respectively assigned. In doing this I shall avail myself of the information contained in the records and manuscripts referred to, and such other sources as are within my reach.

In June, 1728, the General Court of Massachusetts appointed a committee* to lay out two tracts of land for townships, each of the contents of six miles square, in some of the unappropriated lands of the Province. These tracts of land were granted to the officers and soldiers, (or their legal representatives,) belonging to Massachusetts, who were in the service of their country in the Narragansett war, as a reward for their services, and in full satisfaction of the grant formerly made them by the Court.

Public notice was to be given in the News Letters, and advertisements were to be posted up in every town in the Province, notifying the survivors, and legal representatives of those who had deceased, to send a list of their names and descents to the Court, before the next fall session.

The Court appointed a committee to examine the claims laid before them, of rights in the two tracts of land granted to the officers and soldiers who were in the Narragansett fight, who reported that the said tracts of land be granted to the persons contained in a list, which was probably submitted with their report. They also report, that the grantees meet at Boston, if the small pox be not there, if it be, then at Cambridge, on the first Wednesday then succeeding. The report was accepted, 19th December, 1729.

The grantees accordingly met at Cambridge, but the Court having revoked their former order, the meeting was dissolved without transacting any business of importance.

A committee, however, was chosen to petition the General Court for the further grant of land, "so that every sixty claimers might have a township of six miles square." In June, 1733, in answer to several petitions, an additional grant of five townships was voted by the House, and a com-

* "John Chandler, Edward Shaw, Thomas Tilestone, John Hobson, and Samuel Chandler."

mittee of five persons appointed to survey and locate them in some of the unappropriated lands of the Province. The conditions of this grant were, that the grantees should assemble within two months, and regulate each propriety or township, which was to be holden and enjoyed by one hundred and twenty grantees, that they should settle sixty families, at least, in every township, and a learned, orthodox minister within seven years.

It therefore appears that the whole number of grantees, to whom the seven townships were assigned, amounted to eight hundred and forty. The grant of the five townships did not immediately receive the approbation of the Governor. The act passed the House, 30th June, 1732, and did not receive the signature of the Governor till the 26th of April, the year following. The grantees, it appears, were incessant in their applications, and indefatigable in their exertions to secure the last mentioned grant. They even appointed a person* to use his interest with the Governor, to induce him "to sign the grant."

How far the influence of this person prevailed with the Governor, it is difficult to determine. From the papers which I have inspected, it seems that considerable difficulty arose from the number of descendants, who presented their claims for the right of the same ancestor. In order to remedy this evil, the court ordered, that where the person who had been in the service had deceased, the grant should belong to his legal representatives in the following manner: "that the eldest male heir, if such there might be, otherwise the eldest female, if they pleased, should hold the land by paying to the other heirs or descendants such proportionable parts of ten pounds, (which was judged to be the value of a right, or single share,) as such descendant would be entitled to, provided the said lands had descended according to the law of the province for the settlement of intestate estates.

After a number of meetings of the committee of the Narragansett grantees, the grantees themselves assembled on

*Mr. Samuel Welles, of Boston.

Boston common and formed seven distinct societies, each society consisting of one hundred and twenty grantees, and entitled to one township.

Three persons from each society were chosen a committee, who met at Luke Verdey's, in Boston, 17th October, 1733, and assigned the seven townships as follows:

Narragansett No. I.

The tract of land constituting this township and Narragansett No. 7, was between and running from Saco river to the Presumpscot, beginning at the north-west part of Biddeford, that part of Biddeford which is now Saco, and running on the head of Saco, Scarborough, and Westbrook to the Presumpscot. No. 1, is now Buxton, and No. 7, Gorham.

No. 1, was assigned to Philemon Dane of Ipswich, and one hundred and nineteen others, belonging to the towns of Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, Haverhill, Salisbury, Amesbury, Methuen, Hampton, Greenland, and Berwick. The committee were Philemon Dane and John Gaines of Ipswich, and Col. Joseph Gerrish of Newbury. It was reported as surveyed in February 1734, and the report accepted. The first meeting of the Proprietors of this township was held at Newbury-Falls, when John Hobson, Esq., of Rowley, was chosen clerk, who, with the following gentlemen, were elected to that office till the Proprietors ceased to act as a body, namely, Col. Joseph Coffin, of Newbury, Col. Tristram Jordan, of Saco, Deacon Thomas Bradbury and the Hon. John Woodman, of Buxton.

Buxton is situated in the County of York, and bounded on the west by Saco river, which divides it from the town of Hollis, on the south; east and north by the towns of Saco, Scarborough, Gorham and Standish. A settlement in this township was commenced previous to the year 1744, by Deacon Amos Chase from Newbury, late of Saco, Joseph Simpson, Nathan Whitney, and Messrs. Gage and Bryant.

They erected for themselves log houses and a log meeting

house. How long they continued in the town is uncertain, but they all removed from it at the commencement of the Cape Breton war in 1744 or 1745.

In the fall of the year 1750, the first permanent settlement was commenced, and William Hancock, John Elden, Samuel Merrill, Timothy Hazletine, Job Roberts, John Wilson, Joseph and Joshua Woodman, with their families, moved into the town.

Mr. Hancock was from Londonderry, Ireland; he first went to Portsmouth, N. H., thence to Buxton. He settled on the right of the road leading from the Congregational meeting-house to Salmon-Falls. He was a respectable man, died in the meridian of life; and his descendants are now in the town. He took the first newspaper that came into the town, which was printed in Portsmouth, N. H. Samuel Merrill was from Salisbury, Mass., of respectable family connexions, was frequently a selectman of the town and a Lieut. at the battle of Bunker's Hill, in the company commanded by Jeremiah Hill, Esq., of Biddeford, the late collector of the Port of Biddeford and Saco. He settled within a quarter of a mile of the Salmon Falls, on the road leading to Saco, which was then and long afterwards known by the name of the "eight rod road." His descendants are numerous and respectable in the town. He died in 1822, aged 93 years. Timothy Hazelton was from Bradford, Mass., and settled within a few rods of the meeting house. As deacon of the church from its first organization in 1763, till his death, he was desirous to have it believed, that he had more spiritual discernment than his minister; and in this he resembled many who have held this good office. He died at the age of about 70 years.

John Elden and Job Roberts were both from Saco, and settled near and on the same road with Mr. Merrill. They both lived to old age.

John Elden was an active and enterprising man, commanded a company at the siege of Boston with reputation. His descendants are numerous in the town, and have been handsomely noticed by their fellow-townsmen

from its first settlement. Joseph and Joshua Woodman were brothers from Newbury, Mass. They settled below the Salmon Falls, near to Pleasant Point. They were both leading men among the first settlers, and both lived to old age. John Wilson continued but a short time in the town, and not much is known of him, only that he settled on the *Beach Plain Road*, near where the late Jacob Bradbury, Esq., resided, and on the direct road from the meeting house to Saco.

The first settlers established themselves in the lower part of the town, not because the soil was more productive, but probably Saco was then *their* only market, and because it placed them in the vicinity and under the protection of the Fort or block house, situated on the river, in the town of Hollis, two miles below Salmon Falls; for many years commanded by Captain Thomas Bradbury. The soil of Buxton is equal to that of any town in the county of York and superior to most of them; and so far as I am acquainted, few towns in the state have better soil for tillage, mowing and pasturage than this town and the town of Gorham in the county of Cumberland, which is No. 7. Saco river runs more than ten miles on the west side of this town, and affords excellent privileges for factories and mill seats, at Union Falls, Salmon Falls, the Bar and Moderation Falls, on the Saco, and several smaller streams running through the town.

There are sixteen saws in Buxton on the Saco, which manufacture 160,000,000 feet of lumber a year; two fulling mills, four carding machines and four grist mills. The first saw mill erected in the town, which did any business, was on Little river, where Major Samuel Hill now has a grist mill, on the post road leading from Gorham to Elden's Corner in Buxton, which was as early as the year 1760. Little river rises in Buxton, within two miles of Saco river, and runs through the most hilly parts of Buxton and Gorham to the Presumpscot. This to a person passing through these towns for the first time, would appear like water running up hill. This river affords a number of mill

seats in both these towns. In March 1831, "The Pleasant Point Manufacturing Company" was incorporated, for the purpose of manufacturing cotton, wool, iron and steel, in the towns of Buxton and Hollis, with the right to hold $600,000 for the above purposes. Gentlemen from Boston principally hold this privilege and compose this company. Some progress has been made in erecting dams, &c.

Buxton was a Plantation till July 1772, and known by the name of Narragansett No. 1., when it was incorporated into a town by its present name, from Buxton in England. There is only one pond in the town, called Bonny Eagle Pond, near Standish line, in the north part of the town; from which issues a stream, running into the Saco, of sufficient size to carry a grist mill, on which one is erected, called the Bog Mill.

It is a singular fact, that when this town was granted and assigned, more than one half of those to whom it was assigned, and who were in the Narragansett Fight fifty-eight years before, were living. There are at this time the descendants of only two of the original grantees residing in the town, Appleton from Ipswich, and Hobson from Rowley. Both of these names have been and now are among the most respectable citizens of the town. Rebecca Woodman, daughter of Capt. Joseph Woodman, now the widow Atkinson, was the first child born in the town, in the year 1751, now alive, aged 80 years. From the year 1750 to 1763, the settlers were generally supplied with preaching at the expense of the Proprietors. The Rev. Joshua Tufts continued with them two years as their religious teacher. After him a Mr. Thompson, and early in the year 1761, the late Rev. Dr. Paul Coffin commenced preaching to the settlers, and was ordained March 16th, 1763. The only clergymen present on this occasion, were Messrs Little and Hemmenway of Wells, and Morrill and Fairfield of Biddeford. Others were invited but were prevented from attending by the unusual depth of snow on the ground. Those who did attend travelled on snow-shoes. Messrs. Little and Hemmenway with their delegates and

other gentlemen, in attempting to travel in the directest course from Kennebunk, through what is now Lyman and Hollis, to the Block house at Union Falls, passed so far to the left of the direct course, as to prevent their reaching Saco river the first day. They remained one night in the woods, and suffered considerable inconvenience from the want of food, and the inclemency of the weather.* On this occasion, Mr. Little, a brother-in-law of the pastor elect, preached, Mr. Morrill gave the charge, and Mr. afterwards Dr. Hemmenway gave the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Coffin was supported by the Proprietors of the township, till the same was incorporated as a town in 1772. He continued the religious teacher of this people from his first coming among them more than sixty years. He died June 6, 1821, aged 84. He was a sound scholar and learned divine, and possessed that simplicity yet dignity of manners and kindness of heart, which secured to him the love and respect of all that knew him.

The Rev. Levi Loring is his successor in the ministry. There are organized Societies of Baptists and Methodists in the town.

The first schoolmaster employed by the settlers was the late Rev. Silas Moody of Kennebunk-Port, who commenced his school in the winter 1761-2. Those who received the benefit of his instruction, have uniformly borne the highest testimony to his ability and fidelity as a teacher ; and considered it sufficient praise to bestow on the most eminent of his successors, that he was next to Parson Moody. In after life, as a clergyman, his purity of life and integrity of

* This was a remarkable winter for the depth of snow. The Rev. Thomas Smith in his Journal observes : "Feb. 28th 1763. There is no path any where through the country farther than Stroudwater and up to Windham. Mr. Marston was obliged to leave his horse at Hampton and come home on snow-shoes. March 8th. Yesterday and to day we have had the coldest and longest storm this winter, there fell 19 inches, about as much as has been consumed. March 10th. I married Samuel Green and Jane Gustin ; they came on snow-shoes across the Cove, from Capt. Ilsley's to my home."

intention have rarely been surpassed among his brethren in the ministry.

The inhabitants of Buxton, although a frontier town during the French or seven years' war from 1754 to 1761, were never molested by the Indians. And were only once alarmed by the discovery of one or two Indians crossing in the path near the garrison, which was annexed to the house of Capt. Joseph Woodman. What number of Indians were in the neighborhood at this time, or what was their design or object, has never been known. This alarm, as was natural, brought all the inhabitants to the garrison, who were aided and assisted on this occasion by the coolness and decision of Lieut. Merrill.

In the war of the revolution the people were all zealous whigs, or high sons of liberty, and supplied the continental army with more soldiers than any other town of its population in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, as has frequently been stated by a gentleman* who was either in the Legislature of Massachusetts or the Congress of the Confederation during the war. There were three Captains and two subaltern officers on the continental establishment from this town, beside a number of Militia officers who were occasionally called into service.

In the year 1824, a small part of the upper section of the town, with ten families on the same, were annexed to the town of Standish. Except this alteration, the limits of the town remain the same as when first granted and assigned. Population in 1830, 2,856.

The five following townships, principally from Farmer, are inserted for the purpose of preserving the connection of the account of all these townships.

Narragansett No. II.

"This township, it is said in the records, was situated at Wachuset. It adjoined Rutland, and was located soon after

* Hon. Nathaniel Gorham.

the grant of the two townships, in 1728. It was assigned to grantees belonging to Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Weston, Sudbury, Newton, Medford, Malden and Reading." It is now the town of Westminster, in the county of Worcester, Massachusetts. Population in 1830, 1695. *MS. letter of Postmaster, Wesminster, Dec.* 24, 1833.

Narragansett No. III.

"Narragansett No. 3, called also Souhegan West, was situated on the north side of Souhegan river. It was assigned to inhabitants belonging to Salem, 29; Marblehead, 7; Lynn, 27; Gloucester, 5; Andover, 9; Topsfield, 14; Beverly, 14; Wenham, 4; Boxford, 4; Bradford, 1; Scarborough, 1; Reading, 2; York, 1; Falmouth, 2; and Chatham 1. Of the 120 grantees to whom it was assigned, only nineteen who served in the Narragansett war, were living in 1733. The first meeting of the grantees after the assignment of the township was made, was held at Salem village, 17th July, 1734, when a committee was appointed 'to take a particular view of the circumstances of the township,' who 'were to have power to employ a surveyor, and such pilots as might be necessary.'

"On the 2d of September, the Society met to receive the report of their committee, who having been disappointed in the choice of a surveyor made no report. They however declared verbally that they had been on the land, and found it well timbered. The proprietors at the same time voted that the township should be subdivided, as soon as may be, that the committee for that purpose should lay out to each proprietor for the first or home lot, sixty acres, and what was wanting in quality, be made up in quantity. This probably may serve as a specimen of the proceedings of the other Societies."

This township was incorporated in 1760, by the name of Amherst, and is now one of the seats of justice in the county of Hillsborough, State of New Hampshire. Population in 1830, 1,657.

Narraganset No. IV.

"Narragansett No. 4, at Amokeag, was assigned to Northampton, Hadley, Suffield, Enfield, Deerfield, Worcester, Woodstock, Oxford, Brookfield, Killingly, Lebanon, Mansfield, Norwich, Pomfret, Windham, Bristol, Taunton, Swansey, Rehoboth, Little Compton, Dighton, Attleborough, Norton, Freetown, Barrington, Bridgewater, Middleborough, Plympton, Kingston, Rochester, Pembroke, Marshfield, Ashford, Colchester, Haddam, Hebron, Wrentham, Bellingham, Horseneck, North Kingston: total, 41 towns. The number of the grantees to each of these towns, must, of course, have been very small." This township lay partly at a place called Quibban, and partly west of, and adjoining Hatfield, Mass. I have not been able to learn its precise situation, or its present name.

Narragansett No. V.

"This township was known by the name of Souhegan East. It was situated on Merrimac and Souhegan rivers, and embraced a tract of land now comprehending the township of Bedford, and part of Merrimac. The grantees to whom it was assigned, belonged to Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Milton, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, Dedham, Stoughton, Brookline, Needham, Hull, Medfield, Scituate, Newport, New London, and Providence. The committee for the township were Col. Thomas Tileston, Jonathan Williams, and Joseph Ruggles. Merrimac, comprehending part of this township, was incorporated 2d April, 1746. Bedford was incorporated in 1750."

Both these townships are situated in Hillsborough county, New Hampshire. Population of Merrimac in 1830, 1,191. Population of Bedford in 1830, 1,554.

Narragansett No. VI.

"Number 6, of the Narragansett townships, is said to have

been situated west of Pennecook and Sunkook. It is now known by some other name. The towns to which this was assigned, were Concord, Groton, Marlborough, Chelmsford, Billerica, Lancaster, Lexington, Farmington, Stow, Littleton, Shelburne, Stoneham, Southborough, and Woburn. The committee were Samuel Chandler, of Concord, Jacob Wright, of Woburn, and Colonel Benjamin Prescott, of Groton." Mr. Farmer must be mistaken in supposing this township to be situated in the neighborhood, or west of Pennecook and Sunkook, which are now the towns of Concord and Pembroke, on the Merrimac, in the State of New Hampshire. Narragansett No. 6, is now the town of Templeton, in the county of Worcester, State of Massachusetts. Population in 1830, 1,551.

Narragansett No. VII.

This township is mentioned in Douglass' Summary as being situated near the river Presumpscot. It is reported as surveyed in Feb. 1734, and the report was accepted. The tract of land which constituted this township and Narragansett No. 1, was between and extending from Saco river to the Presumpscot river, beginning at the northwest corner of Biddeford, now Saco, and running on the head of Saco, Scarborough, and Westbrook, to the Presumpscot.

It was assigned to Col. Shubael Gorham, and 119 others, belonging to Barnstable, Yarmouth, Eastham, Sandwich, Plymouth, Tisbury, Abington, Duxbury, and one grantee from Scituate. The committee were Col. Shubael Gorham, Timothy White, and Robert Sanford. Gorham is situated in the county of Cumberland, and bounded on the north by Standish and Windham, east by Westbrook, south by Scarborough, and west by Buxton.

This township was incorporated in 1764, by the name of Gorham, from the name of one of the principal grantees. Previous to its incorporation as a town, it was known by the name of Gorhamtown. The township was settled in May, 1736, by Captain John Phinney. He settled at Fort

Hill, one mile west of Gorham corner, the principal village in the town, and on the old road from Gorham corner to Standish. In 1746, this town was attacked by the Indians, when four or five persons were killed, and two or three carried prisoners to Canada. In 1755, the Peale's and Bryant's family were killed. Except these instances, the town was never annoyed by the Indians. The general route of the Indians in their hostile expeditions against the settlers, was to the west or east of Gorham and Buxton. The Ossipee tribe, in their incursions, was west of these towns, as far as Cape Porpoise or Wells, and the Androscoggin tribe made their attacks to the eastward.

In 1750, a congregational church was gathered in this town, and the Rev. Mr. Lombard ordained pastor over the same. In 1759, some difficulties arose between Mr. Lombard and the church and parish, and a Mr. Townsend became the minister to the disaffected. Mr. Townsend was introduced into the ministry by what is usually called lay ordination. "Captain Phinney prayed before the charge, Captain Morton gave it, and Mr. Townsend performed all the other services."

Mr. Townsend continued but a few years in the ministry, being early removed by death. While he continued in the ministry he was respected for his piety, zeal and constant labors among his people. In 1764, Mr. Lombard was dismissed from the ministry, and the church again united. In 1767, the Rev. Josiah Thacher was ordained over this church and people, and in 1781 was dismissed. In 1783, the Rev. Caleb Jewett was ordained, and continued in the ministry about twenty years, till his death. Mr. Jewett was succeeded by the Rev. Jeremiah Noyes, who died in the ministry in three or four years from his ordination, and was succeeded by the Rev. Asa Rand, who was in about ten years dismissed from the ministry at his own request. Mr. Rand had a very respectable standing with his brethren in the ministry. He was a full believer in the divinity of our Savior, and with many he was considered a believer in the divinity of his own opinions. The Rev. Thaddeus

Pomroy is the present and sole congregational minister in this town. Few religious societies in Maine are so numerous, wealthy and respectable, as the one in this town. Many and frequent difficulties arose between the ministers and people of this town within the first fifty years after a church was organized, as may be supposed from the frequent changes of their ministers.

The minister in Buxton was cotemporary with all the clergymen which have been named and settled in Gorham. The Presumpscot river divides this town from Windham, on which, at or near Horse Beef Falls, in Gorham, is situated the Cumberland cotton factory, which carries 1800 spindles, employs 80 looms, 80 persons, and produces 8000 yards of sheeting and shirting a week. Above the cotton factory, on the same river, is a gunpowder factory in successful operation. And still above this are the Gambo Falls, affording good sites for mills and factories. Little River rises in Buxton, and runs through this town, on which are erected, within its limits, a saw, grist and fulling mills.

Passing over this town, in any direction, the traveller finds no rugged mountains, or extensive barren plains, but occasionally ascends swells of land, from which the eye meets a winding stream, or a well cultivated farm. This town is eight miles from Portland, and lies on the great road leading from the upper parts of Vermont and New Hampshire to Portland. Capt. John Phinney, the first settler in the town, removed from Barnstable to that part of Falmouth now Portland, in the year 1729, where he continued, and in that part of Falmouth called Presumpscot, till he removed to this town in 1736. His daughter, Mary Gorham, was the first child born in the place, August, 1736. She married a gentleman by the name of Irish. James Phinney, the son of John, was born April 13, 1741, and is now alive, and resides on his father's place at Fort Hill. The second family that settled in the town was that of John Ayers, in 1737. The third was the Mosiers, in 1738. James Mosier was born in Falmouth, July 25, 1736, and is now living in this town. Hugh McLellan removed to this town

in 1740. He settled on the Fort Hill road, was an industrious and worthy man, and has left numerous descendants in the town. The late Col. Edmund Phinney, son of Capt. John Phinney, was born in Barnstable in 1723. Col. Phinney was early and actively engaged, during the war of 1745, against the savages, and in the year 1748, received three dangerous wounds from them. Towards the close of this war, a fort was built in Pearsontown, now Standish, and Mr. Phinney appointed by government to command it. At the commencement of the war of independence, he was appointed by the Provincial Congress to the command of a regiment, in which capacity he repaired to the siege of Boston, in July, 1775. After serving eight months, the time for which his regiment was raised, he received the same appointment from the Continental Congress, and served one year in the northern campaign in Vermont and New York.

In his military career, Col. Phinney was always respected for his patriotism and fidelity. After the peace of 1783, he frequently represented his town in the legislature of Massachusetts. He died in 1809, aged 86 years.

The inhabitants of this town, like their neighbors of Narragansett No. 1, were all zealous whigs or high sons of liberty in the revolutionary struggle, and under their favorite leader, Col. Phinney, brought to submission the tories of the neighboring towns in their own county, particularly Falmouth, where they considered it due to the cause they had espoused to look into the situation of the adjoining county of York. And the perverse character and political heresies of Dr. Abiather Alden being reported to them, they armed and embodied themselves, and placing Col. Phinney at their head, moved on to Saco, through Buxton, where their numbers were doubled by being joined by every able bodied Whig, and proceeded to Saco in quest of Alden, where he was found at Scamman's tavern, a mile from the falls, on the Buxton road. The Doctor was immediately mounted on a hogshead, and made to read a confession of crimes and offences, which he never could have committed,

and solemnly declared he would forsake all his political errors—

> "But being convinced against his will,
> He was of the same opinion still."

Dr. Alden was an irascible man and not beloved by his neighbors, but never left the country, and never did any act injurious to the cause of his country.

Here Col. Phinney refreshed his forces, and dismissed his Buxton allies with particular marks of his approbation for their meritorious services, and returned to Gorham by way of Scarborough, for the purpose of calling on Richard King, Esq., who was suspected of toryism. But Mr. King believing himself politically orthodox, and that the Colonel had no authority to catechise him on this point, stood upon his defence and would not admit of a parley. On which the Colonel, a man of discretion as well as valor, withdrew his forces, and returned to Gorham, congratulating himself that no blood had been shed in this excursion, and his followers congratulating themselves that they had displayed to the world their ardor in the good cause.

Population of Gorham in 1830, 2,988.

Thus you see by Mr. Farmer's research and the little I have been able to add, six of the original Narragansett Townships, No. 1., Buxton; No. 2., Westminister; No. 3., Amherst; No. 5., Merrimac and Bedford; No. 6., Templeton; and No. 7., Gorham; have been discovered. If by publishing the above any other person should be induced to pursue the enquiry, and the situation and present name of the remaining township be ascertained, the history of the whole might be as interesting as many similar publications which are given to the public.

CHARLES COFFIN.

PORTLAND, NOVEMBER, 1830.

AN

ACCOUNT OF NEW GLOUCESTER,

BY

ISAAC PARSONS.

New Gloucester, November 6th, 1824.

To the Committee of the Maine Historical Society.

Having about the tenth of July received yours, dated at Brunswick, the thirty-first of May, 1824, giving an account of the incorporation and organization of said Society, and its objects, and desiring assistance from its friends, I am willing (under the infirmities of age) to give such information on the subjects proposed as my knowledge and recollection can afford. I have lived in this town sixty-three years; during which time, this and most of the towns in the state of Maine have arisen from a howling wilderness inhabited by cruel savages, to the state in which they now are. This town was granted by the General Court of the then Province of Massachusetts Bay, to sixty of the inhabitants of old Gloucester, or Cape Ann, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1736, and confirmed to them the 5th of July, 1737, on condition of their settling the same, (a territory equal to six miles square, exclusive of water,) reserving one right or sixty-third part, for the first settled learned, orthodox minister; one for the ministry, and another for the support of schools, obliging them to build a meeting-house for the public worship of God; and to settle a learned, orthodox minister. It appears by the records of the proprietors of

said town, that they were at great expense in clearing a road from Cousin's river in North Yarmouth, in building bridges, and nineteen houses with hewn timber, and a saw-mill, and in getting settlers to go on; but found it impracticable to fulfil the conditions, by reason of the Indian wars. The settlers whom they had obtained were called off by the authority of the Governor, and thereby they lost the houses and mill that were built, as well as the road they had made.

In the year 1754, the Proprietors gave great bounties to settlers, and went on with such resolution as to clear a new road from where the village in North Yarmouth now stands, by the way of Walnut Hill, over the river, and up into the most southern corner of New Gloucester, then on a circuitous route on the high land fit for settlements, to a place where a point of upland made into the interval on the east side of the river, and where there was some rising ground on the west side, and thence to the centre of the town. There they built a strong fort and garrison, and hired men (with such as intended to settle) sufficient to defend it against any force that could in any probability be brought against it. This they continued to do with the assistance of the Province, who put them upon half pay and allowance; they being obliged to assist in keeping a strong scouting party from Saco to fort Weston, now Augusta, on the Kennebeck; at which two places were strong forts, and soldiers, kept by the Province, during the French war, or until the year 1760, when Canada was taken by the English. During this time two men were taken prisoners, belonging to the fort, and carried to Canada, and one was killed and scalped in the lower part of the town; after which the Indians withdrew; and the settlers began to move out of the garrison and build log-houses on their lands, and clear the same with more expedition.

Before they had not been able to clear or raise any thing, only as the men went altogether armed to their work, within reach of the shot of the large swivel guns of the

Fort; keeping good sentinels of men and large dogs; and leaving the women to keep the fort. The same difficulties attended most of the settlements in what is now the state of Maine, until Canada was taken; a few of the most populous towns near the sea excepted.

Of the men that kept the fort in said war time, or part of the time, the following persons with their families became the first settlers, viz. John Stenchfield, David Millet, William Stevens, Humphry Woodbury, Samuel Worthly, Benjamin Hammon, John Megguire, John Stenchfield, Jr., Horton Mitchells, Capt. Nathaniel Eveleth, William McLane and William Stenchfield; all of whom were born in this country, except the first, making in the whole twelve families; and eight more had moved into the town before the writer came. As to the longevity of people in this town, a great number have died between the age of seventy and ninety-five years, and there are forty-two now living between the ages of seventy and ninety-two.

There are five stores or trading shops, and five taverns in the town; one Social Library, that has been established about thirty years; and one Masonic fraternity.

Mr. Moseley the present minister, was ordained February 10th, 1802.

Mr. Foxcroft the first minister, died March 9th, 1807, at the age of 72 years.

Eleven of the youths of this town have had a college education; and many an academical.

Of three attornies at law, two have had a college education; one of whom is a justice of the Court of Sessions.

There are three Physicians, one of whom, Timothy Little, is much esteemed as a surgeon and anatomist, in this part of the country, and has had many students. One cabinet maker. Three painters. Four house carpenters or joiners. A number of shoe and boot makers. Two saddlers, harness makers or chaise trimmers. Three blacksmiths, one of whom is a brass founder. Two tailors. Two chair makers.

There have been one Major General, three Brigadier Generals, and three Colonels in this town.

This town was incorporated March 8th, 1774.

The present inhabitants, according to the last census, amounted to a small number over sixteen hundred souls, all of whom (one excepted) were born in the United States, chiefly in old Massachusetts.

The births and deaths in this town have not been given to the town clerk, as the law requires, consequently no exact account can be derived from him.

The writer hereof being a native of Old Gloucester, in the county of Essex, and the then Province of Massachusetts, was born April 14th old stile, or 25 new, A. D. 1740. Having heard much said about the Eastern Country, as it was then called; some saying that it would make a good country in time, others that it would not support its inhabitants (where they could not have the advantages of fishing and lumbering), the writer was determined (by the leave of Providence,) to go to New Gloucester and the Eastern Country, at the age of twenty one, and examine for himself. Accordingly he came in the month of June, 1761, and having spent much of that summer in exploring the country and examining the soil and natural state of the country generally, he was of opinion that it might be made a good country by industry, and thought he might do as much good in his day and generation here as elsewhere; although some of the inhabitants, living on the sea board, tried to discourage him by saying that people could not subsist so far back in the country where they could not have the advantage of fishing and lumbering; and that he did not intend to stay here, but only came to induce others to come, who would starve after the assistance of the proprietors and the Province should cease. He soon found that the settlers had not discovered the right way of managing and improving new lands. He found by strict examination that land in a natural state, that had a full growth of hard wood upon it, if the trees were all fallen down upon it and lay a suitable time, would collect so much nitre, as to be-

come light and more suitable for the roots of any vegetable to penetrate in quest of nourishment, than it could be made by all the art of cultivation; especially when the wood was burnt off, and it had the additional benefit of the alkaline salts. These advantages he found must be taken as soon as may be after the fire has run over the land, or the nitre will waste, the land settle, and the best profits be lost. He therefore in the year 1762 and 3, was fully convinced that if corn were planted on new land, cleared and well burnt over, without breaking the surface any more than by chopping off the weeds and sprouts, a good and ripe crop would be produced, and that the opinion that it would not stand without hilling, was entirely erroneous. He therefore hired some and persuaded others, to try this method, and it was found by experience fully to answer his assertions. And a knowledge of this method soon spreading through the country, it proved a greater encouragement or inducement to the settling of the state of Maine, than any one thing, except the withdrawing of the Indians. Before this method was introduced, it could not be found that any farmer to the eastward of old York, ever raised a bushel of corn to sell; but the people in general were dependent on the western and southern parts of the country for their bread.

It must always be observed that new lands, after a fire has run over them, ought to be planted or sown with some sort of grain or grass seed as soon as may be, in order that the grass may take deep root, before the land settles.

It may be a satisfaction to some to enter here a certificate of the following purport, viz:

This may certify, that Isaac Parsons, Esq., first introduced the practice of raising Indian corn in this country on new burnt ground without hoeing; and brought the same into practice in the years 1762 and 3.

NATH'L EVELETH, } Two that had families of the
JOHN MEGGUIRE, } first settlers mentioned.

JAMES STENCHFIELD, } One that lived in the Fort, but had not a family until the writer came.

The wild animals found in this town, when first settled, as well as in this part of the country generally, were the large, elegant moose, (the beef, hides, and tallow of which were of great service to the first settlers,) bears, deer, wolves, wild-cats, beavers, otters, foxes of various colors, large hedge-hogs or porcupines, raccoons, skunks, sables, minks, musquash, hares, rabbits, woodchucks, weasles, and divers sorts of squirrels and mice.

The soils in the town are of different kinds; the land generally consisting of large swelling hills and wide vallies. The hills seem to be founded on rock, with a various depth of earth upon it. The soil upon them is moist, heaves much with the frost, has stones of all sizes intermixed with it, more than enough to fence it, (of which most of the fences on the upland are made.) It produced abundantly when new; but after the stumps and roots are all gone, the stones taken out and put into fence, and the land ploughed several years, it falls heavy, and is not so very productive. Orchards of apple trees, however, flourish on it, and are cultivated to advantage, as well as pears, plumbs, and currants; cherry-trees used to produce luxuriantly until within a few years, since which a black worm has infested and destroyed them.

The soil toward the lower part of the hills is a clayey loam, heaves much with the frost, is in great measure free from stones, and produces tolerably well if rightly cultivated.

The largest valley contains a large piece of interval land, that runs almost across the town, and has produced large crops of hay until of late years. The reason of its being less productive, seems to be a large white worm, that eats off the roots of the English grass; not only on the interval, but also on the flat parts of the upland. There is also a small, red, hard-skinned worm, that is very injurious generally, on such lands.

There is a considerable tract of pine plains in the westerly part of the town, which would be the best land we have for raising bread-stuff, if it were conveniently situated.

The vallies, low-lands, and plains, are subject to early frosts, but the hills are not so.

The disease most prevalent is the consumption, which has carried off many of the young people; but for this it might be called a healthy climate, especially on the high lands. The productions of the soil are grass, Indian corn, wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, beans, potatoes, very good and profitable, turnips of different sorts, and all sorts of garden products that are common in the New England States. The foregoing description of products may answer for the country generally.

The principal indigenous or natural trees are the rock or sugar maple, white maple, yellow and white birch, beach, elm, white and yellow ash, basswood, red or gray oak, suitable for plank stocks and ship building, spruce, hemlock, hackmatack. Of the white pine, which is valuable for masts and boards, there was the best growth sixty years ago in the upper part of this town, Danville, and Poland, and between Royal's river and the Little Androscoggin river, that the writer ever saw or heard of in the state of Maine, from whence were hauled several ship loads of masts for the navy of the king of England, before the Revolutionary War. Since that time people have been cutting it into board logs, and hauling it into the two rivers, and much of it has been worked up into shingles and clapboards; so that it is almost destroyed.

The most common of the indigenous or natural plants found here, were the life-of-man's-root, sarsaparilla, ginseng, cohash, blood-root, cancer-root, horse-mint, sinnecal, and sprig of Jerusalem, called by some archangel.

The horned or neat cattle and sheep are most commonly and advantageously raised; from the cows a considerable quantity of butter and cheese is made for market.

There is a sufficient number of carding machines and fulling mills for woolen; but the wool is mostly spun and woven in families.

The most usual and profitable occupation is husbandry. As to the morals of the people, (considering the depravity

of human nature,) they may be called good. The proprietors of the town, when they had but their fort and garrison, took care to have the public worship of God maintained in it on the Sabbath, which was still practised when the writer came here, and was continued when they had no preacher, by the exercises of prayers, reading a sermon, and singing psalms or hymns, both in the forenoon and afternoon, until the proprietors settled the Rev. Samuel Foxcroft, (son of the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, of Boston, and father of the present postmaster and high sheriff,) on January 16th, 1765, (after a church was organized,) to be their pastor and teacher; he was a learned, Calvinistic, congregational minister; they paid him his salary for ten years; his death and age have been already mentioned.

After the town was incorporated, several other sects arose, which occasioned great difficulties as to parochial affairs. The Calvinist Baptists were incorporated in a separate society, with others of that persuasion, in the town of Gray. The Congregationalists became organized as the first parish, and after Mr. Foxcroft became unable to carry on the ministry, hired many candidates; and finally settled the Rev. Mr. Elisha Mosely, from Connecticut; the time of his ordination has been mentioned. And after his ordination, said first parish raised a fund, the interest of which was sufficient to pay his salary; he still continues their minister.

The said first parish consists of about 72 families and 82 polls; the church of about 70 members; having been reduced within seven years past, by death and removals.

With the number of persons belonging to the Calvinistic Baptists, the societies and churches of the Free-will Baptists, the Methodists and Universalists, I am not acquainted.

The Congregational and Calvinist Baptist Societies have each a decent meeting house. The other societies usually meet in school houses.

There is a society or family of Shakers, in the northwesterly part of the town, consisting of about 80 or 90 souls, who also have a meeting house.

As to learning, the town is divided into ten school districts, nearly all of which have comfortable school houses. The town has a school fund, the interest of which is sufficient to support about half of the schooling. It chooses a school committee annually, generally of the most learned men, to visit and examine the schools; to look into the method of the instructors, and see what progress is made in learning. And it may be said that the youths have been better instructed than they have generally been in the towns in the vicinity.

There are about two hundred and forty dwelling houses in the town, all of them of wood, except two of brick; about half of them two stories high, and about the same number of families.

As to a more exact topographical description of this town, I would mention that the proprietors, in the year 1762, found that the township interfered with the Pejepscot claim in its first location, on the north-east side, and that New Marblehead, now Windham, had crowded New Boston, now Gray, two miles upon them on the south-west side, and was likely to ruin this town. They therefore petitioned the General Court for a committee to be appointed to run out New Marblehead, New Boston, and this town, and establish their bounds, which petition was granted, and the committee came and put New Marblehead and New Boston back the two miles; and found that they could not give this town but four miles and a half and thirty-three rods front on Yarmouth back line; and that the north-east side line of it must be run up a north-west-and-by-north course, instead of a north-west course, until it should contain its quantity exclusive of water; by which location this town extends further into the country, and is much wider at the head. And that the main branch of Royal's river has its rise from a pond in the north corner of the town of Gray, runs north-easterly about a mile and half in this town, on which stream is a saw mill; falls into Sabbath-day pond, which is about a mile and half long, and about half a mile wide, lying in the westerly part of this town, and near the Shaker family; which pond derived its

name, (as the writer hereof understood when he first came here,) from a number of hunters, who, before this part of the country was settled, used to hunt for beavers on the streams of this and Little Androscoggin river, who agreed to meet there to keep the Sabbath; and from said pond takes an easterly direction upwards of two miles, to excellent falls about half a mile long, in a northern direction; on which now stand a saw mill, a double stoned, overshot grist mill, with a bolt, carried by the wheels, a carding machine, a fulling mill, a bark mill and tannery; and on which falls may be erected several other water machines, and near to which is the upper thick settlement of the town, where four roads meet, called the upper corner. From said falls, it takes a circuitous course, and enters the town of Danville in an eastern direction, about two miles north-east from said falls, and after continuing its eastern direction about a mile, it takes its course about south-south-westerly near a mile, and enters this town again, and continuing nearly the same course, generally across the town, but in a very serpentine manner, running through a large body of interval land that is overflowed in large freshets, lying in front of the thick settlement in the centre of the town where five roads meet, and where the two meeting houses stand, called the lower corner, with a descent therefrom of about half a mile to the interval, affording a beautiful prospect. Then entering the town of Gray, and crossing the easterly corner thereof, it takes an easterly direction into the town of North Yarmouth, and to the falls thereof, which about half a mile in length, to the tide water, on which falls are many mills; nearly the whole of said river from Sabbath-day pond is very serpentine, but sufficiently large in small freshets to bring down board logs from the foot of the falls in New Gloucester, to the saw mills on the falls in North Yarmouth, of which there has been enough hauled in the several places and conveyed down to make many millions of feet of boards. The King's masts, before spoken of, were hauled by the centre of this town, and put into the river about two miles below, and conducted down to the falls in North Yar-

mouth, and hauled round there about three quarters of a mile to the tide waters.

The people here, after they began to get lumber for a market, used to haul it to a landing the proprietors had laid out for that purpose at said river, near a mile below the meeting house, and put it into the river near the bridge; the boards in rafts, the oar rafters, clapboards and shingles in bunches, and let them be carried by the gentle current down to the landing in North Yarmouth, just above the upper mill dam on the falls; following them down, and taking them out and hauling them about three quarters of a mile to the shipping at the head of the tide water; and the inhabitants used to bring up many of their things in canoes, floats and batteaux, before they could get the road made good. But since the road is made good, they, nor the people in Poland, Minot, nor Danville, pretend to make use of the river, only to let the mill logs go down; although there has, and still is a vast quantity of lumber hauled by the lower corner and over said bridge down to North Yarmouth, (some days upwards of a hundred thousand feet,) yet nothing is said by the lumber men about making use of the river as a canal; which may serve to illustrate what may hereafter be said respecting canals.

There is a stream near the centre of the town, on which stands an overshot grist mill, there is another stream about two miles westerly, called Lovell's Brook, on which the famous Captain Lovell with his large scouting company once encamped, before he had his great fight with the Indians at Pigwacket Pond, as it was then called, on which also stands a grist mill. As to roads, bridges, &c., I would inform that the land being moist, so heaves with the frost, that the people are obliged to heave up or turnpike almost the whole of them, both on the hills and lowlands, and notwithstanding they are very bad in the spring of the year when the frost is coming out. As to bridges, the town has seven across Royal's river, and private persons three, besides a great number over small streams.

The lands in the town are almost wholly laid out by

lines at right angles, as well as the roads; except the great road leading from North Yarmouth to Poland, which enters the town near the south corner, and goes out at the north corner; the road that goes from Gray corner to the Shaker settlement, in a northerly direction, passing about three miles across the westerly corner of this town; and the road leading to Brunswick, which leaves the road leading to North Yarmouth, upwards of two miles below the centre of this town, and goes in an easterly direction, cutting the lots diagonally as well as those from Yarmouth and Gray corner.

The writer found by the smoke that rose up in a straight column when Portland was burnt, in the time of the revolutionary war, that it lies due south from the centre of this town. Now a straight course from Portland due north, crosses Back-cove, and the great ledge of Walnut hill, which makes so far south-west, together with bad land for a road; so that teams or travellers coming from Portland here by Gray corner must pass Deering's and Winslow's bridges, and have to rise from Winslow's bridge to the top of Blackstrap ledge or hill, and the other hills to Gray corner; and when they get there, will in all probability be three miles from a straight line, run from what is called Gloucester lower corner or centre of this town, to Walnut hill meeting house; and also going from Gray corner to Gloucester, they have Harris's hill to pass, all making a very circuitous and hilly route.

The eastern travel from Portland has a bridge over Presumpscot river, at what is called Staples' point, and it appears to the writer, ought always to have, (and that it ought to have been built with a good, tight, stone wall on each side, and filled solid with mud and earth on the flats, leaving a sufficient channel way.) There is a county road laid out and opened from Mr. Buxton's near Walnut hill down to the road that leads to said bridge, which when made good, will make easy or comfortable passing into Portland.

There is a road that has been viewed by a viewing com-

mittee, and laid out by a laying committee, and accepted by the Court of Sessions, from the upper corner (as it is called) in this town to Nason's mills, and so on to the east meeting house in Minot, designed by the well wishers of the state as part of the great northern route, to the line of lower Canada, or to the Dead river, where a road from said line comes, as well as for the great accommodation of the inhabitants. There has also been most violent opposition to this by the people of Danville, Poland, and Minot, they probably fearing the expense, and that it will carry the travelling from them; and to prevent it, have been proposing new routes to the great cost of the county; and have (as the writer has heard) prevailed with the Court of Sessions to suspend the work.

The travel by the corners has increased amazingly; two of the traders at the lower corner told the writer this day, July 31st, 1824, that in one day the last week about one hundred ox teams passed by down the Yarmouth road very heavily loaded with lumber, (they usually carry from two to five thousand feet to the load,) besides other carriages; near the whole of them came from eight to ten miles back in the country. Almost all the travel from the corners into Yarmouth or Portland, goes by Walnut hill meeting house, since there is a bridge at Staples' point, and a new road up to Mr. Buxton's; but are obliged to pass the old, crooked, hilly road above the Walnut hill meeting house; and it appears that they must, even to the end of time, unless there should arise a race of men possessed of a duly benevolent and neighborly spirit.

The writer is acquainted with the land where the road from the upper corner to Nason's mills, and the east meeting house in Minot, is laid out, and knows it to be a level tract of land; and has some knowledge of the land on said northerly route, through the northern part of Turner, a part of Livermore, and Jay, and is of opinion that a straight, level and good road might be made there; which would save a very circuitous travel, and some of the worst hills he knows of in the county. The committee when they laid out said road

made a short crook to the eastward, so as to go over the bridge now built near Nason's mills, and said it would be best to go there until the bridge should be rotten, and then have one built on a pair of rips above, and the road might be made straight. They also crooked or hauled to the westward up a hill to go to said meeting house and the neighborhood there; which hill is descended again in going up into Turner, which might be shunned entirely by making the road straight, which probably will be done in process of time, it being the only hill he knows off worth mentioning, in thirty miles above this town in said direction.

ISAAC PARSONS.

HISTORY OF NORTH YARMOUTH,

BY

EDWARD RUSSELL.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE following interesting account of North Yarmouth, was prepared by the late Edward Russell, Esq., and delivered by him in the old meeting-house, the first ever erected in that place, to a crowded audience, in 1833. It is believed that the audience then assembled, consisting of the descendants of a race of men remarkable for their integrity and stability of character, was the last ever gathered in that venerable structure, then more than a hundred years old.

Edward Russell was the fourth son of Dr. Edward Russell, a respectable physician in North Yarmouth, who was born at West Cambridge, in Massachusetts, graduated at Harvard College, in 1759, and died at North Yarmouth, in 1785.

His mother was Hannah Clark, daughter of Dr. Parker Clark of Andover, Mass., and one of the Phillips family of that place. Edward their son, was born at North Yarmouth, August 31st, 1783, graduated at Harvard College in 1803, and died Nov. 29th, 1835, at the age of 52.

In 1812, he married Lucy Stevens of Portland, by whom he had three children, a son and two daughters, all of whom survive him. The eldest daughter, Mary, married Milford P. Norton, Esq., formerly of Maine, now a judge of the Supreme Court of Texas; the other, Margaret, married Charles N. Cogswell, Esq., late of South Berwick, recently deceased.

Mr. Russell was an upright, honest man, of clear and sound understanding. For twenty years successively from 1808, he was employed in the affairs of his native town, as clerk and selectman, with the entire confidence of the people, and left those offices for that of Secretary of State, to which he was elected in the years 1829 and 1830.

He imbibed a taste for antiquarian studies, by frequent examination of the early records in his custody, and thus became familiar with the history of the early settlement of his town; and was led to explore more intimately the sources of its origin and growth; the result of which we have embodied in the following discourse. His death, which followed two years after its delivery, prevented a more extensive illustration by him of our early annals.

W.

ADDRESS.

A people justly proud of their ancestors, as are the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, can recur with peculiar satisfaction to the early history of this country. Generations to come will applaud the wisdom, integrity and wonderful perseverance of the first planters of our shores. It is wise to become acquainted with such characters, and by a centennial celebration to shake hands with men, not to be sure perfect, but who have probably done more for their successors than any other set of men who have inhabited the globe.

The late attention to the collection of historical facts and the compilation of town histories, does honor to the present generation; and if this address does but awaken curiosity to the collection and preservation of documents for the materials for a history of this ancient town, my labor of preparing it will be fully rewarded.

We are now met to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the first meeting in this town for the choice of town officers, which meeting was held in the same building where we are now assembled. But meetings called town meetings, were holden in this town nearly half a century previous

to that of May 14th, 1733. It will therefore be interesting to go back to the earliest settlement of our territory, and collect as much of the history of the first adventurers, as can now be gleaned after so long a period.

The first inhabitants were the aborigines; I cannot learn that there was any permanent Indian village within the limits of this town. The tribe claiming this territory, had their head quarters about Merrymeeting bay. The settlement at Jay point, called *Rocameca*, may have been subject to the same chiefs. The shores of the main and islands furnish evidence of their residence in numerous places. There is no spot, to my knowledge, which has ever been called the *Indian planting ground*, but there is little doubt, that Lane's Island was their burying place; and if any land was cultivated by them, within this town, that island from the nature of the soil would be most likely to invite their attention. As the banks of the island cave away, human bones have been exposed to view for many years. A skeleton which I examined myself, five years ago, was buried with the head to the south and the feet to the north, and not more than twelve inches below the surface of the ground. Now it is well known, that a custom prevailed with our ancestors, invariably, to lay the dead east and west; from this circumstance, I presume the graves on Lane's island must be those of the aborigines.

The Indian names of places now known are few. North Yarmouth, was called *Wescustogo;* Freeport, *Harriseket;* Harpswell, *Meniceneag;* Cousins' Island, *Susquesong;* Cousins' River, *Sisquisic.* The head of the tide on Royal's river, *Pumgustuk.* The names yet retained are: Gebeag, *Chebascodegar*, Maquoit, and *Bungomungomug*, now pronounced *Bungonug*, a small river emptying into Maquoit bay, at the original north-easterly bound of North Yarmouth.

From our infancy we have been made to shudder at tales of horror, connected with Indian fights, scalping knives and tomahawks. It is full time to look at the other side of the picture. Let us consider a moment the situation of the natives at the commencement of the English settlements

in New England. The French had possession of Canada, anterior to the settlement of Plymouth, and distributed their catholic missionaries among the natives, "whose imaginations were engaged by the pompous ceremonies and imposing worship of the Catholic faith." By means of the Jesuits, says a late writer, "did the French acquire possession of that lever, which they could always use, to impel the Indians to war, from the time when civilization first cursed them with its presence, until it triumphed by their extinction." The course adoped by the English was the reverse. "The Indians themselves," Gov. Hutchinson informs us, "asked, how it happened, if Christianity were of such importance, that for six and twenty years together, the English had said nothing to them about it." The speech of the Norridgewock chief to the governor of Massachusetts, gives us a good view of the attention paid to cultivating the friendship of the Indians, by the English and French settlers. "Neither your predecessors," says he, "nor their servants, ever spoke to me of prayer or the Great Spirit. They have seen my peltries, my skins of the beaver and the deer, and of these only have they taken thought. These they have sought with eagerness; I could not furnish them enough, and when I brought them many, I was their great friend, that was all. On the contrary, my canoe being one day lost, I mistook my course and wandered a long time by chance, until I stopped at a great village near Quebec, where the black coats lived; scarcely had I arrived, when a black coat came to me; I was loaded with peltries. The French black coat did not even deign to look at them. He spoke to me at once of the Great Spirit, of Paradise, of hell, and of prayer, by which is the only path to heaven; I listened to him with pleasure, and relished so well his conversation, that I stayed a long time in that village to hear him."

The capture by Hunt of twenty Indians, which he sold in Malaga for slaves, in 1614; the murder in cold blood of the brave Myantonomo, a prisoner, by order of the government of Massachusetts, in 1643, with the various

deceptions practised upon their ignorance down to the *trick*, the honor of which tradition has fastened upon one of our own townsmen, who in his purchases of beaver of the natives used his wife's foot for a pound weight, and her hand for half a pound, unfolds a fearful account with a people, whose only law was, "*an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.*" There was not wanting in those times a Jesuit, one of the black coats before mentioned, to inflame their martial fury and incite them to revenge, as in the following address by Thuny, to the Penobscots: "My children," said he, "when shall the rapacity of the unsparing New Englanders cease to afflict you? and how long will you suffer your lands to be violated by encroaching heretics? By the religion I have taught, by the liberty you love, I exhort you to resist them. It is time for you to open your eyes which have long been shut; to rise from your mats, and look to your arms and make them once more bright. This land belonged to your fathers, long before these wicked men came over the great waters, and are you ready to leave the bones of your ancestors, that the cattle of heretics may eat grass on your graves? The Englishman think and say to themselves, 'We have many cannon, we have grown strong while the red man has slept, while they are lying in their cabins and do not see, we will knock them on the head; we will destroy their women and children, and then shall we possess their land, without fear, for there shall be none left to revenge them.' My children, God commands you to shake the sleep from your eyes. The hatchet must be cleaned of its rust, to avenge him of his enemies and to secure to you your rights. Night and day, a continual prayer shall ascend to him for your success; an unceasing rosary shall be observed until you return covered with the glory of triumph."

The English were not far behind the natives in executing vengeance upon their enemies with demonlike fury; take for instance the following account, by the author of New England's memorial. An attack was made upon the Pequods, the most warlike tribe in New England, in 1637;

"so they went on," says an author, "and so ordered their march, as the friendly Indians brought them to the fort of their enemy, in which most of their chief men were, before day; they approached the same in great silence, and surrounded it both with English and Indians, that they might not break out, and so assaulted them with great courage, shooting among them and entered the fort with great speed, and those that first entered found sharp resistance from the enemy, who both shot and grappled with them; others ran into their houses and brought out fire and set them on fire, which soon took in their mats, and their houses standing close with the wind, all was soon on a flame, and thereby more men were burnt to death than were otherwise slain. It burnt their bow strings and made them unserviceable. Those that escaped the fire were slain with the sword; some hewed to pieces, some run through with their rapiers, so as they were quickly despatched and very few escaped. The number they thus destroyed was conceived to be above four hundred. At this time, it was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire, and the streams of blood quenching the same; and horrible was the stench and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them."

Can we wonder, under such circumstances, that the Indians did not "fight until the soil had drunk all the blood that flowed in the veins of every white man who stood upon it." But these scenes have now passed away, and the red man who proudly traversed the lands we occupy, has nearly ceased to exist, and notwithstanding the slaughter and cruelties he practised to avenge his wrongs, he has left recorded by the white man, which deserves to be engraven on his tomb, this short sentence, "*no instance of the worst violence to woman has ever been told of our aborigines.*"

This capacious bay, well stocked with fish and fowl, the bountiful supply of timber with which its shores were covered and trade with the Indians, invited settlers here at an early period. We find that George Felt lived on the

farm now owned by Mr. Seales, in 1643, where he built a stone garrison, and there is some reason to believe that John Phillips, of whom Felt purchased, was an inhabitant before that time, which will carry the first settlement made in the town, back to about two hundred years. In 1645 John Cousins lived on the "neck of land which divides the branches of Cousins' river," and owned also the Island, which, with the river, still bears his name. In 1646 William Royall purchased the farm, which with the river yet retains *his* name. 1647, Richard Bray bought of Cousins half of the island. 1651, James Lane, of Gloucester, moved on to the farm now owned by W. Fogg, in Freeport, and gave his name to the island at the mouth of the river. 1652, John Maine lived on the *Foreside;* and a point which yet retains his name, directs us to the place of his settlement. 1666, Shepherd claimed the neck of land on the north-east side of Harresicket bay. 1670, John Holman lived on Holman's, now called Prince's point. 1674, a saw mill was built at the lower falls, by Gendall and Seward, called Casco mill. About this time, Gendall lived next to Falmouth line; Thomas Blashfield on the farm of the late Richmond Loring; Benjamin Larrabee on the farm now owned by Deacon Halpes; Amos Stevens who married the daughter of Wm. Royall, on Wolf's point; Thomas Reding on the east side of Cousins' river and west of Lane's farm; William Haines on Pine, now called Flying point. There were also inhabitants on Tobacco point, further east, and on Mare point, and Potts and others on Merryconneag. An *Old fort* is mentioned as situated on Parker's Point, but I do not know who occupied that ground at this early date. These settlers were compelled to abandon their improvements in the Indian war called Philip's war, which broke out in June 1675. The mill was burnt and probably most of their houses. This war continued three years. After the treaty of Casco, in 1678, the inhabitants returned again to their desolate homes.

Under the administration of President Danforth, the

place previously called Wescustogo, was incorporated into a town, as will appear by the following document.

"At Fort Loyall, in Falmouth, 22nd Sept. 1680.

For the further Inlargement and Incouragement to the settlement of the township, by the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts, on the easterly side of Wescustogo river, on Casco bay. It is hereby granted unto them, that the waste lands lying between the said grant and Falmouth, shall be added to the township, and also an island lying between the sea and said township, called New Dameras Cove.

It is also hereby ordered and declared, that the name of the said Plantation shall be *North Yarmouth.*

THOMAS DANFORTH, President."

It is not known why this name for the town was adopted. I have not been able to trace any of the first settlers to Yarmouth, in the county of Plymouth. It is quite probable that some of our earliest planters came from the town of that name in England, situated at the mouth of the river *Yare.*

Our records commence with an order relative to the settlement of the town, dated July 13, 1681, signed by Bartholomew Gedney, Joshua Scottow, Silvanus Davis and Walter Gendall, a committee. "Impowered to order and regulate the settlement of a township, granted by the Governor and Company of the colony of Massachusetts, Proprietors of the Province of Maine, on the northerly part of Casco bay, formerly called Wescustogo and now named North Yarmouth." This committee determined "that the place of building and settling the town, should be on the land commonly called *Maine's Point*, to be ordered so in the laying out, as may be compact and most capable of defence. It being understood by Maine's point includes that whole neck of land where John Maine and John Holman formerly dwelt." That ten acres of plain land be laid out in a square lot for a meeting house, burial place, minister's house lot, market place and school; around this ten acre lot, a street four rods wide, and on this street, house lots of

half an acre each, and in some convenient place, a common field equal to six acres to each house lot. Any two of the committee with the selectmen were authorized to grant lands to such as they should entertain as inhabitants. A committee was appointed to procure a minister. A grant was made to W. Gendall of 200 acres near to Falmouth bounds, and George Peirson was appointed recorder to the town of North Yarmouth aforesaid.

This compact little town, on paper, calculated only for twenty-four house lots around the public square, shows us the caution which our ancestors were obliged to observe in the formation of their settlements, on account of the hostility of the natives.

We find nothing further of the doings of this committee. The scattered location of its members, must have rendered it inconvenient to discharge the trust reposed in them. Col. Gedney was a land speculator, who lived in Salem, was a physician and judge of the court, called to take an immediate part against those charged with witchcraft. J. Scottow was a principal man in Scarborough. S. Davis, formerly of Kennebec, was then an enterprising inhabitant of Falmouth, and Capt. Gendall lived in this town. In 1683, the town was represented by Walter Gendall in the General Assembly, held at York. In June and July of the following year, two other deeds or instruments were executed by President Danforth. In the first of these, John Royall, John York, John Harris and Walter Gendall were named trustees, and the same persons are appointed trustees by the second, except that Jeremiah Dummer was named in room of John Harris.

At a general town meeting, held at the house of Thomas Blashfield, Feb. 24, 1685, the inhabitants determined on the form of grants to the settlers, and on the same day, portions of land and marsh were granted, by the Trustees, to Royall, Blashfield, Coombs, Astofell, William, Samuel, Isaac and Benjamin Larrabee, J. Harris, R. Edwards, A. Stevens, and J. Provender.

Here commences an interval in the proprietors' records

of thirty-seven years; but by papers on file it appears that a town meeting was held at the house of John Royall, June 7, 1686, "To hear the proclamation sent by the President and Council of his Majestie's territories and dominions of New England, in America." At the same meeting, other grants of land were made. Soon after this, another Indian war commenced. Capt. Gendall was killed, as also a Mr. Scales and others. All the inhabitants, amounting to thirty-six families, were again compelled to abandon their improvements and stock to the infuriated natives. Three houses and two barns, the property of Gendall, were burnt, as also the saw-mill and grist-mill built by him. He was the most enterprising and wealthy of all the settlers, and his death at that time must have been an irreparable loss.

We have now followed our early settlers through a space of almost half a century, scattered on twelve or fifteen miles of the bay shore, without roads, the ocean in front, and an unbounded wilderness in their rear, and destitute of schools and moral and religious instruction. These are imperfect sketches of this interesting period in the history of our town. The records and files in Massachusetts and in the county of York, contain ample materials to make us better acquainted with the men who toiled so long and with so many discouragements to form a settlement for themselves and their posterity, on this territory; but when an antiquary will be found, able to devote time and money to examine these records and files, is very uncertain.

After the destruction of the town in 1688, nineteen years of war with the Indians intervened, before any effectual attempt was made toward a settlement. It is not known to me when the inhabitants began to return to the ashes of their former habitations, covered no doubt, when they did return, by a growth of young wood. The saw-mill was rebuilt previous to 1719, by Nathaniel Weare, of Hampton. Records of some proceedings of the inhabitants were kept by Peter Weare, son of Nathaniel, as he himself afterward declared on oath. These records, it is supposed,

contained the doings of the persons interested in Gedney's claim, and were no doubt intentionally destroyed.

In May, 1722, the inhabitants and others interested in lands here, petitioned the General Court "to appoint a committee dwelling in or near to Boston, and at the cost and charge of the proprietors, to regulate the settlement and manage the prudentials of the said town for the present; and that the town books and papers then in the hands of Capt. Samuel Phipps, of Charlestown, be ordered into the hands of some person, to be kept in Boston, that so the ancient records may be kept safe from falling into the hands of the Indians, which was the unhappy case of Falmouth." The prayer of this petition was granted, and William Tailer, Elisha Cook, William Dudley, John Smith, and John Powell were appointed. This was a very respectable committee. Tailer lived in Dorchester, and had been Lieut. Governor of Massachusetts. William Dudley lived in Roxbury, was a member of the council, and son of Governor Dudley. E. Cook was a distinguished political character. John Smith was a merchant in Boston, and brother of Rev. Thomas Smith, the first minister of Falmouth, and John Powell was also a merchant in Boston; he afterward removed to this town, and died here in 1742. This Committee held their first meeting at the house of John Powell, in Boston, in April, 1723, and appointed John Smith clerk.

The doings of the Committee were guided by judgment and prudence. The ancient settlers and their heirs received their first attention, new proprietors were admitted, who with the old settlers made up one hundred. Ten acre lots were laid out from Gendall's farm, next to Falmouth line, almost to the head of the tide on Royall's river. The ancient proprietors were allowed to select lots which included their old possessions, and the remainder drew their lots at a meeting of the Committee at the house of James Parker, in this town, in 1727. Two sites were designated, on one of which the meeting-house was to be erected. Both the places are on the south side, and near to the creek, now

called Pitter's creek; one about eighty rods west and the other fifty rods east of the present road. Persons now acquainted with this ground, will smile at the selection of these spots for the location of a house of public worship.

Each proprietor, to entitle him to a deed of his home lot, and share in the after divisions, was required to erect, before the 1st of June, 1729, "and well finish, a convenient dwelling house, to clear and fence five acres of their home lots, and to repair to, abide and remain at North Yarmouth either in person or by some able bodied man, and reside there until the expiration of that time." These were hard terms for those whose lots were poor land, and a large number were of this description. We accordingly find that in March, 1730, there were only forty-one houses, and twelve frames; and we cannot suppose that many of these were "*well finished.*" All expenses, including building the meeting-house, the minister's salary and surveying the lands, were defrayed by a tax upon the home lots or rights. But the people were poor. The minister, surveyors and carpenters complained that they were not punctually paid, and the collectors complained because the proprietors were unable to pay. The settlers were anxious for land to improve, in addition to their home lots, but feared to go back from the bay shore, as appears by a representation signed by thirty-two inhabitants addressed to the General Committee, in 1731, relative to the division of the then common lands, wherein they say, "*Whoever's fate it is to have their lots at four and six miles distance, and perhaps poor land, near the head of the town, will not go to work on them, except they intend to starve.*"

The Committee made their report to the General Court, February 22, 1733, giving a detailed account of their proceedings; at the close of which they proposed to be dismissed, and that the town have the powers and privileges of other towns, and that the common and undivided lands be hereafter managed, divided, improved and disposed of by the proprietors according to their interests. This report was accepted and April 6, 1733, the General Court passed

an order authorizing Samuel Seabury, Esq., of North Yarmouth, "to call a meeting of the inhabitants as soon as may be, to choose Selectmen, Constables and other ordinary town officers," and pursuant to his warrant, a meeting was held in this meeting house, one hundred years ago, which organisation of the town has continued without interruption to the present time. At the first meeting, Samuel Seabury, Esq., was chosen Moderator, Barnabas Seabury, Clerk, Jedediah Southworth, Treasurer, Jacob Mitchell, Joseph Chandler and Francis Wyman, Selectmen, Jacob Mitchell, Joseph Chandler and Cornelius Soule, Assessors, and Edward King Constable.

The character of the population of the town, we have cause to believe, was changed very much by the new proprietors. A number of them were descendants of the first settlers of Plymouth, and brought with them the habits of the men "who opened a new world to civilization and religion."

Jacob Mitchell was a grandson of Experience Mitchell, who came to Plymouth in the third ship, Ann, in 1623, and in the division of stock among the planters, in that town, in 1627, had allotted to him and twelve others, "*the least of the four black heiffers that came in the Jacob, and two she goats.*" Gilbert and Barnabas Winslow were descendants of a brother of Governor Edward Winslow and Samuel Baker, by the maternal line, was connected with the same family; they were from Marshfield. Seabury and Southworth were from Duxbury. George Soule of Plymouth, was one of the first Pilgrims; he afterward removed to Duxbury; Cornelius Soule, one of our first Assessors, was probably one of his descendants. Benjamin Prince who drew home lot, No. 1, on the point which bears his name, was also from Duxbury. Mrs. Zeruiah Gray who lived and died in this town, at an advanced age, was said to be a grand daughter of Capt. Standish, and Miles Standish is now the baptismal name of one of her descendants. The origin of other proprietors, I think, might be traced to Plymouth colony; and it is certain, that several who have

been enterprising men, and often employed in public trusts in this town, in later years, were from the same region.

It is worthy to be recorded here, that a daughter of Samuel Baker, who drew a ten acre lot 106 years ago, is now living, and at the age of ninety-two retains her faculties in an unusual degree. She is but little deaf, has never used spectacles, and describes with much vivacity the scenes of her youth. She is accompanied in her lengthened pilgrimage by her husband, also over 90 years old, and retaining his senses and memory as well as his wife; they have been married sixty-eight years. The aged couple here referred to, are McClough and wife of Cumberland. The proprietors proceeded to lay out the *after divisions*, as they are called in the records, which were the 100 acre division next Falmouth, the 120 acre division or Gedney's claim, the east 100 acre division, the division of the marsh into 4 acre lots with lots of upland, equivalent to 4 acres of marsh, to make one lot to each proprietor. The division called squadrons in the Gore, which tract was granted by the General Court in 1734. The islands and pews in the meeting house, constituted two divisions more. The last of these divisions was drawn for in 1742. Merriconneag and the island adjacent, Gebeag, Cousins' island, and some tracts on the main, within the jurisdictional limits of the town, claimed by persons under ancient titles, were not included in these divisions.

As we are indebted to the lawsuit between the proprietors and the assigns of Thomas Stevens, respecting the title to Gedney's claim, so called, for materials for a considerable portion of the ancient history of our town, some account of this claim may not be unacceptable.

In 1673, Thomas Stevens of Kennebec, purchased of Robin Hood and other sagamores, a tract of land "two miles on each side of Pumgustuk or Wescustogo river, from the first falls to the head of the river, every branch and creek thereunto belonging," for a valuable consideration, but the sum is not mentioned, and the deed was never acknowledged. The 120 acre division and 280 acre squad-

rons, amounting to about 7,000 acres, came within this claim. Stephens sold this tract to B. Gedney of Salem, and Henry Saward of York, Oct. 12th, 1674. In the same month, Gedney and Saward agreed to complete a saw mill with two saws, and one corn mill, which were then begun. Saward mortgaged his moiety to Gedney, which he failed to redeem, and Gedney became proprietor of the whole. Saward completed the saw mill, but not the corn mill. This mill was burnt by the Indians in Phillip's war, and was rebuilt by Capt. Gendall, who purchased the Indians' claim of Gedney, in 1681, in the same place, as the witnesses testify, on which stood the one built by Saward. Gendall also mortgaged the land to Gedney, to secure the payment of the purchase money, £110, which he never paid; and in July, 1684, the whole became Gedney's the second time, there being then on the premises one saw mill, one grist mill, one house, with about four acres cleared on the east side of the river, and a hovel, and about the same quantity cleared on the west side. These mills, as has already been mentioned, were destroyed by the Indians, about four years after. Gedney died in 1698, and Nathaniel Ware, of Hampton, who had purchased one third of the claim, built the third saw mill. A number of persons soon appear as proprietors in this tract; some of them no doubt purchased into it on speculation, for, in 1730, Abial Wally, shopkeeper, Francis Willoughby, Gent., Nathaniel Emmes, stone cutter, Joseph Robie glasier and John Harrod, baker, all of Boston, Deborah Clark, of Salem, widow, Thomas Carpenter, James Shewell, Seth Gibson, Merchants, and Joseph Thompson, Esq., all of London, recovered judgment for partition to be made of and in a certain tract of land, lying partly within and partly adjoining to the town of North Yarmouth, containing about *a hundred thousand acres of land* with the buildings and appurtenances, bounded as described in the Indian deed to Stephens. Partition was accordingly made, in which one sixth is set off to Peter Weare, son of Nathaniel, and one sixth to Joseph Fellows, "who did deny to make partition."

In 1730, the proprietors of North Yarmouth, probably with a view in part to try the Indian title, granted to Samuel Seabury and Jacob Mitchell, "so much of the river at the lower falls as may be needful for a grist mill" and ten acres of land adjoining. Seabury and Mitchell built the mill, and it appears that Weare had some share in it, but in 1733, Nathaniel Emmes commenced his action against the owners, and recovered judgment and costs. Not discouraged by this failure, the proprietors, in 1741, commenced their action against the claimants, for that part of the claim lying in the Gore, and the next year another action for the 120 acre division, which actions were tried, continued and reviewed until 1748, when the proprietors obtained judgment with costs. Thus terminated the most important suit that the town or inhabitants have ever been engaged in, even to the present time. A small part of the expense of carrying on the suit was paid by the proprietors of New Gloucester.

The bounds of North Yarmouth, in its greatest extent, were from the white rock, adjoining Falmouth, N. W. eight miles, thence N. E. about eleven miles, until intersected by a line running N. W. from the mouth of Bungonug river, and from the white rock and the mouth of the river, to extend S. E. to the sea. By these lines, Mare point, Merriconeag, the great island Chebascodegan, and a large number of islands, and Small point at the mouth of Kennebec river, were included within the limits of North Yarmouth. Mare point was set off to Brunswick in 1739, and in 1741, on the petition of Ebenezer Hall and others, inhabitants of *Small point*, to the General Court, praying to be set off from North Yarmouth and annexed to Georgetown, the town voted, "that considering the distance of said point of land from North Yarmouth meeting house, and the difficulty of the passage, the town gives free consent" that the prayer of the petition be granted. Merriconeag and the islands adjacent were incorporated into a town by the name of Harpswell, Jan. 25, 1758, having been a parish previous to that time.

The progress of the settlement of the town was slow. The inhabitants did not engage much in agriculture, but were employed in procuring wood and lumber for coasting vessels, of which many were owned here. Between 1720 and 30, John Powell built a saw mill on the brook at Broad cove, called Felt's falls, and Gilbert Winslow and others a tide saw mill on Atwell's creek, which was at that time considered a hopeless speculation, and was called the *folly mill*, by which name the creek is now known, but I have been informed by a daughter of one of the owners, that it was a profitable concern. In 1753, another tide saw mill was built on a creek between Cousins' river and the farm now owned by Mr. Fogg, and the same year the first saw mill was built at the upper falls on Royall's river. The iron refinery was built a year or two after. In 1763, there was no house on the northwest road, in what is now Cumberland, above Mr. James Tuttle's, or the farm now owned by Mr. Reed, one hundred and twenty years after the settlement of George Felt on the west side of broad cove; and in 1768, ninety-four years after the first saw mill was built at the lower falls, there was no house on the road to New Gloucester, above where the town pound now stands. There were, however, some families in New Gloucester prior to that date.

To contrast this snail-like pace in the march of population and improvement with the rapid progress of later years, one astonishing fact should be mentioned in this place. In the northern states at the present time, millions of capital are invested in cotton manufactories, millions of spindles are in operation, and tens of thousands of the people derive their support from these establishments, yet the man who made and put in motion the first machinery for spinning cotton in New England, is still living and now present in this assembly.

The tardiness of the settlement of the interior part of the town must in a great measure be attributed to the wars with the Indians. Our records are remarkably barren of facts respecting the incursions of the aborigines. It is from

other sources, that this part of the history of the town must be collected, and I regret that a large portion must depend entirely upon tradition.

In June, 1746, Joseph Sweat, of Falmouth, was killed while riding on horseback near where Capt. Andrew Blanchard now lives, and Mr. Philip Greely was killed the same year, near the present residence of Mr. David True, by a party of Indians secreted in the gully near the road, waiting a favorable opportunity to attack Wear's Garrison. They were discovered by Mr. Greely's dog, and the lives of the inmates of the garrison were preserved at the expense of the life of Mr. Greely.

In June, 1748, Ebenezer Eaton was killed on the old road on the south side of the ledge, and Benjamin Lake was taken prisoner. In the spring of 1751, Joseph Chandler, son of Edmund Chandler, aged 12, Solomon Mitchell and Daniel Mitchell, the first aged 12, and the second 7 years, sons of Capt. Benjamin Mitchell, were taken by the Indians near the present residence of Mr. Oakes. The boys had been to Mr. Mitchell's farm where the men were at work, and were sent home early in the afternoon to get the cows, below the meeting house, and their capture was not suspected until the return of the men to the garrison in the evening. In this affair, as in the last, the capture of the sons probably saved the lives of their fathers. The two eldest boys were recovered by their friends in two or three years, but the youngest remained with the Indians more than ten years, and was not restored until the general peace after the conquest of Canada. The last attack by the Indians was upon the house of Mr. Maines, at Flying Point, May 4, 1756. Mr. Maines was killed, his wife wounded by the shot which killed a child in her arms, and a girl by the name of Skinner taken prisoner. The peace which followed the surrender of Quebec put an end to wars with the Indians in New England, and to years and days of peril, when, to use the language of the aged Mrs. Clough, "almost every house was a garrison, and every man carried a gun to meeting."

A late author has enumerated six Indian wars between 1675 and 1760, a period of eighty-five years, in which were thirty-five years of war, which shows us what desperate efforts were made by the sons of the forest to retain their hunting grounds and the graves of their fathers. After 1760 people began to venture back into the woods, as it was then called to move three or four miles from the salt water, and the population of the town rapidly increased.

The rest from Indian wars was soon interrupted by the war of the Revolution. Our records are full of the proceedings of the town at this momentous crisis. In 1768 the town voted to pay a bounty on linen and woolen stuffs of domestic manufacture. The inhabitants of this town engaged with one voice in opposing the earliest acts of aggression by Great Britain. The answers to the letters from the select men of Boston are full of the energy and spirit of the times, and as early as May 1774, speak of "resisting force by force." The use of tea was prohibited, on penalty of being "regarded as too indifferent, if not criminal to our real interests and prosperity, and of being adjudged disqualified for any favor it might be in the power of the town to bestow." It was afterwards voted, that "if the skippers of any vessels belonging to this town shall hereafter presume to carry or contract to carry fuel or lumber of any kind to the troops or forces in the town or harbor of Boston, the vessel shall be hauled up and stripped, and there lay during the town's pleasure; and the names of the skippers and owners of the vessel shall be published in the public newspapers, in order that they may be known and avoided as enemies of their country." And at a very full meeting on the 20th of May previous to the Declaration of Independence, "*voted unanimously, that should the Honorable Congress, for the safety of the United Colonies, declare them independent of the kingdom of Great Britain, the inhabitants of this town do solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support Congress in the measure.*"

Three years after the close of the war of the Revolution the town was invited to send delegates to a convention pro-

posed to be holden in Portland, to adopt measures to obtain a separation from Massachusetts; this project the town resisted at that time, and ever after.

I presume no town in New England can boast of a more steadfast and consistent career, in both religion and politics, than North Yarmouth. The inhabitants have been remarkable for continuing their public servants in office, and have unquestionably derived great advantage by so doing. One who has cause to expect that by doing his duty, he shall receive continued patronage, has a responsibility, and feels an obligation to serve the public faithfully, which he does not who is put into office one year with the expectation of being turned out the next.

During the century since the organization of the town, *eight* persons only have held the office of town clerk, three of these served eighty-three years, and the remaining five seventeen years. In the same period, seven persons only have been elected to the office of Treasurer; four of whom served ninety years, and the remaining three ten years. The offices of Selectmen and Representative have been conferred in a similar manner.

The ancient building in which we are assembled deserves a passing notice, and its history is a history of the small beginnings, slow progress and scanty means of our ancestors. A tax was assessed upon the home lots for raising money to build a meeting house, in April 1729. I find nothing further on record or on file respecting it that year, except a proposal from a carpenter in Medford to do the work. As a meeting was held in this house, April 24, 1730, to give a call to the Rev. Mr. Cutter, there is no doubt the building was raised, and the outside partly finished, in 1729. The boards were rafted from the mill at the lower falls, I suppose, to Larrabee's landing, there being no road in which lumber could be hauled from the mill to the meeting house. Five years after, a committee was appointed to clapboard the house, and finish all except making the pews. In two years more a vote passed to plaister the meeting house over head, and lay part of the floor. The steeple was raised the next year, and the pew ground ordered to be laid out.

The steeple was never furnished with a bell, but the inhabitants about this time contrived a substitute, for we find that in March 1738, the town "*voted five pounds be allowed Mr. Seth Mitchell, for beating a drum on the hill behind the meeting house, every Lord's day morning and noon, to notify the time of public worship for the year ensuing.*"

In 1739, ten years after the building was raised, the pews were finished, and divided by lot among the proprietors of the home lots. In 1762, the town voted to enlarge the house, by putting a piece in the middle. The work was immediately commenced, and the expense was defrayed by the sale of the additional pews. In this state it has remained, with occasional repair, until the present time, and is, I have no doubt, the strongest meeting house built of wood now standing in the State, and I presume the only one that was never lighted for an evening lecture. This house was the place for holding proprietors' town and parish meetings a great number of years. The garret was used for the magazine of military stores, the adjacent common was the place for military musters ; and within half a century, the green in rear of the meeting house has been ornamented with a pair of stocks and a whipping post. In 1665 the town, then Wescustogo, was presented and fined forty shillings "*for not attending to the Court's order for not making a pair of stocks, cage, and a ducking stool.*" I presume the whipping post and stocks erected one hundred years after, were in compliance with some statute, to avoid another fine.

Among the things which recall to our remembrance the fashions of former times, the *horse block* deserves a place in our history. For many years a large congregation assembled for public worship in this house, when there were not two carriages in town, in which persons could ride to meeting ; yet every horse carried as many as at the present time, and to accommodate the ladies, a large piece of timber was placed at the east end of the meeting house, about three and a half feet high, with steps at one end. When the congregation were dismissed, this became the centre of a most animated scene. The top was immediately occu-

pied. Men and boys soon mounted, came round in turn with the pillion, the horse hardly stopped to receive his burden, a lady was ready to occupy a seat behind her husband, another tossed a child into her lap, and the next moment was on the succeeding horse herself. In this style, half the assembly were in a few minutes, without confusion or disorder, on their way home, the horses two or three abreast, and conversation was carried on by the riders, either grave or gay according as impressions had been made upon their minds by the sermon of the preacher.

The first minister employed here of whom we have any record, was Samuel Seabury, who preached from 1727 to Nov. 1729. He received an invitation to settle here, which was not accepted; he afterward became a settled minister, but I do not know in what place. The next and the first ordained in this house, was the Rev. Ammi R. Cutter, whose life was characterized by great energy, activity and usefulness. He was born in Cambridge, in the parish now incorporated into a town and called West Cambridge, educated at Harvard College in the class of 1725; he began to preach in North Yarmonth, Nov. 10, 1729, was ordained Nov. 18, 1730, and dismissed from the pastoral office, Dec. 12, 1735, on account "of the unhappy difference which had arisen between him and the church." He afterward practised as a physician, and was said to be an excellent surgeon. In Dec. 1742, he removed to Saco, commanded a fort, and had charge of an Indian trading house. While there he made, says Sullivan in his history of Maine, a dictionary of the Indian language, to facilitate his intercourse with the natives. In 1745, he commanded a company under General Pepperel, in the memorable expedition to Louisburg, was appointed to remain there as chief surgeon of the garrison, through the winter following the surrender of that place, and died in March 1746, at the early age of between 40 and 45 years. Although dismissed from the office of minister, he did not loose the confidence of the people. He was much employed in transacting the business of the proprietors, in drawing reports, deeds and even

writing letters for individuals. The records and ancient papers furnish ample evidence, that nothing important was done while he resided here without his aid; and his elegant hand writing will render him an agreeable companion to every antiquary who may examine these documents.

The next clergyman employed was Ephraim Keith, of Bridgewater, a descendant of the first minister in that town; he received a call to settle here in 1736, which he declined on account of opposition to giving him the invitation, and the same year, Nov. 10th, Rev. Nicholas Loring from Hull in Massachusetts, was ordained, and continued the pastor until his death in July, 1763. We have reason to believe that the connexion between Mr. Loring and his people was very harmonious, and the affectionate respect for his memory which appears in the votes of the town at the time of his interment, and the grateful acknowledgment of these testimonials of attachment by his widow, were alike honorable to the dead and the living.

In 1751, Merriconeag became a separate parish, and Rev. Elisha Eaton, formerly minister in the third parish in Braintree, now Randolph, was installed the pastor in 1754, and died in 1764. He was succeeded the same year, by his son Samuel Eaton, who died in 1822, aged 86. The piety, integrity and fearless independence of this venerable man, deserves the pen of Irving to do his character justice.

Rev. Edward Brooks from Medford, was unanimously called to succeed Mr. Loring. He was ordained the 4th day of July, 1764, and one hundred and sixteen dollars and sixty-six cents were expended for an ordination dinner; a more sumptuous entertainment than has been provided in town, on the 4th of July, since the declaration of Independence. But this auspicious morning of Mr. Brooks' ministry was soon clouded by disaffection and discontent; and in about four years, he was dismissed. The separation proved advantageous to both parties. The inhabitants found in his successor a man whose feelings and sentiments were congenial to their own, and Mr. Brooks, who spent the remainder of his life in his native town, used to say, "that

his enemies in North Yarmouth had done him more service than all his friends."

The last minister settled by the town, was the Rev. Tristram Gilman, from Exeter, N. H., who was ordained in Nov. 1769, and communicated religious instruction from this desk, near forty years.* It is not necessary now to dwell upon the character of this excellent man, personally known to so many present, and who can say with the poet;

> "That in his duty prompt at every call,
> He watch'd and wept, he pray'd and felt for all.
> And as a bird each fond endearment tries
> To tempt its new fledged offspring to the skies,
> He tried each art, reproved each dull delay,
> Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way."

* He graduated at Cambridge, in 1757, and died in 1809.

HISTORY OF BATH.

READ BEFORE THE LYCEUM IN 1833.

BY GEN. JOSEPH SEWALL.

THE first European settlement in Maine, was made at the mouth of the Kennebec river, in 1607. Capt. George Popham, Rawley Gilbert, Edmund Harlow, Edmund Davis, and about one hundred adventurers from England, were sent out by the Plymouth Company to their colony of North Virginia, as this territory was then called. George Popham who was a brother[5] of the then Lord Chief Justice of Great Britain, was President of the colony, and Rawley Gilbert, Admiral. They had also their Master of Ordnance, Sergeant Major, Marshall, Secretary, Captain of the fort, and chief Searcher. The expedition consisted of two ships, and they landed on Stage island[6] August 11th.

A few days after their landing, they removed to a point on the west bank of the river, and on the south side of Atkins' bay, not far from where the United States fort now is. Here they remained during the winter, which was very inclement and severe. Sickness prevailed among them, and before the ensuing spring carried off about one half their number,* including their President. They also lost by fire their store house, much of their provisions and many of their dwellings. The ships having returned to England in the fall, were by the orders of the Plymouth Company furnished with supplies for the colony, and directed to proceed with them to Kennebec. The ships arrived in the spring. The company was disheartened and

* This is incorrect: Popham was the only one who died. See PURCHAS. Ed.

discouraged at the loss of their leader, and finding the country presented so few inducements to remain, and dreading their Indian neighbors, who then were numerous and powerful in the country, immediately embarked for England, and carried with them the remains of their President.[7] Their treatment towards the Indians was not calculated to conciliate their savage neighbors, nor to establish that confidence and friendship, which would have been so necessary to protect their feeble colony against Indian attacks, had they remained. There was during the existence of the Norridgewocks a tradition among that tribe, that these Europeans invited a number of their natives, who had come to trade with them, to draw a cannon by a rope, and that when they were arranged in a line, for this purpose, the whites discharged the piece and killed and wounded several of them. It is probable the resentment of the neighboring Indians, on being informed of such treachery, was aroused, and that the fear of retaliation hastened the departure of the colony. The settlement was recommenced on the Kennebec, about twenty years after the departure of the Popham colony, by John Parker, a fisherman, who in 1649, purchased of Damarine[8] or Robinhood, what was then called Reskeagan island, in Sagadahock, being the largest in the present town of Georgetown, and lying on the east side of the Kennebec, near its junction with the sea. Since the purchase the island has retained the name of its first English proprietor, and some parts of it are to this day retained by the descendants of John Parker. This John Parker was the ancestor of the late learned Chief Justice Parker of Massachusetts. The same year, Mr. Parker[9] purchased of Robinhood, the land on the west side of the Kennebec, between Winnegance and the sea.

In 1639, Edward Bateman and John Brown commenced a settlement at Neguasset or Neguaseag, having purchased the same that year of Mahotiwormet, commonly called Robinhood, for one hogshead of corn and thirty sound pumpkins. In 1657, James Cole resided at Neguasset, and in 1667, James Smith resided there.[10]

It is not known of what tribe Robinhood was the sachem. He resided near Neguasset falls, at a place now called "Gunner's Nose." He claimed a title to all the lands near the mouth of the Kennebec, as well as extensive domain on the main, on each side of this river below Abagadasset. It is probable he was the chief of all the Indians who resided on the territory bordering on the Sagadahock, who from some vestiges of their labors that still remain near the cove in Georgetown, that now retains the name of Robinhood, must have been very numerous and powerful. There are on the hill near Mr. Riggs's, at an elevation of sixty feet above the sea, two holes excavated into the ledge, both of a perfect circular shape, and evidently the work of art.[11] One is of about six feet diameter, and eight feet deep; the other about two feet distant, is about half that diameter and depth. Neither history or tradition informs us how they were made, or for what purpose. By some they are supposed to have been used in the performance of some of the religious ceremonies of the natives. An examination of them, and the stones that lay near them, seems to leave but little doubt that they were made and used by the natives to boil their food in, so limited was their knowledge of the arts, and so rude their implements, that they heated water for cooking, by throwing hot stones into it. The pebbles found in and about these holes are such as would resist the action of the heat, and as if by much use are all worn very smooth, and the sides of the holes towards the sea being a little lower than the others, by their smoothness, show the effect of the action of the pebbles as they were rolled in and taken from the excavations.

As early as 1650, Thomas Webber resided at the upper end of Reskeagan,[12] and in 1658, he and Parker sold the upper end of the Island to Clarke and Lake. At this time Parker lived on Arrowsic Island, near Squirrel Point, in a house which he afterwards sold to Clarke and Lake, with one hundred acres of land which he owned there. In 1649, John Richards resided at the north end of Arrowsic Island, or Arrowseag, as it was called by the natives, having pur-

chased the whole island that year of Robinhood. In 1654 Richards sold the Island, excepting Parker's 100 acres, to Thomas Clarke and Roger Spencer.[13] Mr. Spencer shortly after sold his moiety to Thomas Lake, the partner of Mr. Clarke.

As early as 1629, John Parker was engaged in the fishery between Monhegan and Kennebec, coming from Boston to this station annually for this purpose. In 1630, he made a permanent residence at Reskegan. The Kennebec was resorted to for trade as early as 1625. That year the Plymouth Colony sent a vessel loaded with corn and merchandise up the river under the command of Edward Winslow, to traffic with the natives, and carried home a quantity of beaver and other furs. Clarke and Lake having purchased the Indian title to Arrowseag and other extensive tracts on the Sagadahoc, in 1658 laid out a town[14] on the south part of that island, in lots of ten acres each, and intersected them with streets of ample width, and made other improvements necessary for their permanent location here.

In 1660, there was a fort at Stinson's point, near Potter's Mills, which had been erected by one Hammond,[15] an ancient trader, to guard against a surprise from the natives with whom he traded. Hammond had also a trading house at Ticonic falls, where he was so imprudent as to rob the natives of their furs. This offence was retaliated by an attack on his fort at Arrowsic on the Sabbath, whilst the people were at their devotions—when Hammond was killed, and his house plundered. Clarke and Lake had another fort and trading establishment on Arrowsic, about two miles below Hammond's, and near where the old meeting house in Georgetown now stands. The people at this garrison were also attacked immediately after the attack upon Hammond's, and overpowered. Capt. Lake was shot in attempting to escape, and Samuel Smith and Joshua Grant were among the killed, and Francis Card taken prisoner. Capt. Sylvanus Davis, who afterwards was a member of his Majesty's Council, and who in 1670

was a representative from Arrowsic, was wounded, but not taken prisoner. This was in 1676.

May 29, 1660, Robert Gutch purchased of Robinhood, the land now included within the limits of Bath. From the first settlement by Parker until this period, the English settlements had progressed on the Kennebec without much interruption, there having been peace between the whites and Indians to that time. In 1670 there were on Arrowsic and Parker's Island thirty families, and on the west side of the river below the chops twenty families. In 1661, Ambrose Hunnewell from whom the point at the Fort takes its name, resided at the lower end of Sagadahock, and Thomas Atkins resided on the shore of the bay near the mouth of the river, which still preserves the name of its ancient settler. Indeed, in 1654, the inhabitants of the territory who took the oath of fidelity, would amount to the number of heads of families already mentioned. The territory was then considered to be within the jurisdiction of the Plymouth colony, and a commission was granted to Thomas Prince, to establish a government here, with full and ample powers to summon all the inhabitants to take the oath of fidelity, and make the needful laws and regulations for their separate jurisdiction.

Among the Plymouth Records, we find a copy of the proceedings, had under the warrant to Thomas Prince, to establish the government at Kennebec. The record is as follows:

"Government Established at Kennebec.

"Whereas, it hath pleased the Right Honorable the Council of the State of the Commonwealth of England, notwithstanding their many great and weighty occasions, to take into consideration the condition of the English inhabiting upon or near adjoining unto the river, commonly called Kennebec, who by reason of remoteness from other jurisdictions, and their own paucity and fewness, have not hitherto enjoyed the benefit of government, no doubt to the great grief of all well affected English. It hath now pleased the right honorable council of State, by authority of Parlia-

ment, to confer the government of the aforesaid inhabitants upon the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, the first inhabitants and government in those parts, as by these Letters Patent doth appear.

"In pursuance whereof and by virtue of the aforesaid authority, granted to William Bradford and his associates, the same William Bradford and his associates, at a general court held at New Plymouth, gave full power and authority to Mr. Thomas Prince, one of the assistants in said government, for the settling a Government upon the said river Kennebec, by virtue whereof the said Thomas Prince issued out a warrant directed to the Marshal of New Plymouth, bearing date the 15th of May, 1654, requiring the inhabitants upon the said river to make their personal appearance at the house of Thomas Ashley, at Merrymeeting, upon the 23d of that present month, at which time and place the people generally assembled, and after publishing the aforesaid authority, the inhabitants hereunderwritten have taken the oath of fidelity, viz:—Thomas Purchase, Messrs. John Stone, Thomas Ashley, John Richards, James Smith, William James, Thomas Parker, John White, John Browne, William Davis, Thomas Webber, Thomas Atkins, James Coale, John Parker, Edmund Hughes, Alexander Thwoit.

"Orders made and agreed upon at the same meeting. 1. That all capital crimes and trials upon life and death, be referred to the General Court at Plymouth. 1. Treason against the Commonwealth of England, or their Colonies. 2. Wilful murder. 3. Solemn conversing or compacting with the Devil, by way of conjuration or the like. 4. Wilful or purposed burning of houses. 5. That adultery be tried at Plymouth. 6. That theft be punished by restitution of three or four fold, according to the discretion of the assistants. 7. That if any person or persons drink themselves drunk, for the first default, 5s., for the second, 10s., and the third time be set in the stocks. 8. Wilful profaning the Lord's day, to be punished according to the discretion of the assistants. 9. Whereas there hath been

great abuses in trading wine and other strong liquors with the Indians, whereby they drink themselves drunk, and in their drunkenness, commit much horrid wickedness, as murdering their nearest relations, &c., as by sad and woful experience is made manifest. It is therefore ordered that no person whatsoever from this time, sell any strong liquors directly or indirectly to the Indians within this jurisdiction, upon forfeiture of the double value of goods so traded for their first default, and four fold for their second default in that kind, and for the third default, if an inhabitant, to lose the privilege of trading with the Indians for the future—and for any stranger, that shall come to trade or commerce with the English, or any other that have not taken the oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth of England and this present Government, and yet reside within the limits of this jurisdiction or any part thereof, for the present, for their first default in that kind, to forfeit the fine of ten pounds sterling, to be levied upon their goods or estate, that shall be found within the jurisdiction, or any part thereof, and for the second default, twenty pounds sterling, to be levied as aforesaid; the one half of all such penalties to be disposed of to the persons informing, and the other half to the public uses. 11. That fishing and fowling be free to the inhabitants, as formerly. 12. That if any Indian or Indians bring beaver or moose to any of the inhabitants of this river, within their own limits, they may trade freely with them, as formerly, provided it be not for such things as are prohibited.

"13. That there be no action tried at this court exceeding twenty pounds sterling, unless by the consent of both parties, and in case any greater action do arise, then the case to be tried at the General Court at Plymouth.

"14. It is agreed, that the next court is to be holden the 3d day of the week following the 20th of May next, at the house of Thomas Ashley.

"15. That all actions betwixt party and party, be tried by the verdict of 12 men."

In 1689, the settlements in Georgetown and on the Ken-

nebec were almost totally destroyed by the Indians. Prior to the capture and death of King Phillip, in 1677, he having declared war against the colony at Plymouth, sent emissaries to Sagadahock, as that part of the Kennebec below the chops was then called, to incite a war against the settlers there. His motive appeared to be totally to exterminate the whites, who he foresaw were fast encroaching on his vast domains, and who not so much from their physical strength, as by the power of their civil institutions, would very soon drive him, and his race and tribe, from the land of their birth and their home. The whole Kennebec country was deserted by the whites, their forts, houses and mills were burnt, their improvements destroyed, and the territory again left free for the roam of the savage, and the occupation of his game; until after the charter of William and Mary, when it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts colony, and received from that government powerful aid. In 1692, Capt. Church was sent by Sir William Phipps against the eastern Indians, and in August arrived in Kennebec river, where he attacked and defeated them. He pursued them to Ticonic falls, and having completely routed them, returned to Pemaquid. The settlers then began to resume their stations. In the beginning of the 18th century, the eastern Indians again became hostile and troublesome to the whites. The Norridgewocks were peculiarly so to their English neighbors.

The Massachusetts forces had two skirmishes with the savages on the Kennebec, in 1702 and 1704. The peace which was concluded with France, in 1713, left the Indians without the aid, and beyond the control of adventurers from that nation, and caused them to cease hostilities. The Jesuits, however, who were zealous in the propagation of their faith among the Indians, and who had much power and influence over them, remained as guardians of their spiritual concerns. The peace between the Indians and the whites, was but of short duration. In 1721, hostilities commenced anew, and were carried on with more barbarity than ever. Having been attacked at Norridgewock,

the Indians fled, and left no trophy to their pursuers but the papers of Sebastian Ralle, a French priest who resided among them. These papers were taken by the whites, and from them it was discovered that he had done much towards prolonging the war. On the other hand, the seizure of the papers of the priest was considered by the Indians as an insult to the Divine agency, or at least was used as a pretext for further complaint, and they were incited to pursue the war with redoubled fury. They attacked the settlement at Brunswick and burnt it, leaving only Fort George, which had been erected there by the Provincial Government, in 1714. In September, 1723, they made a descent upon Arrowsic [16] and killed one child, burnt all the dwellings, being thirty-seven in number, and destroyed 300 cattle. The inhabitants retired to the garrison, and being but about forty strong, made no sally upon the enemy, who were permitted to return to their wigwams at Norridgewock. The continued attacks and depredations of the Indians aroused the energies of the government and settlers, and they resolved to strike a deadly blow upon them and wage a war of extermination. In 1724, Capts. Moulton, Harmon and Bourne, with 280 men, were sent to Kennebec, against the Indians. On the arrival of the whites at Sagadahock, the Indians suddenly retreated to their head quarters at Norridgewock. On the 21st of August, Capt. Moulton and his troops debarked at Ticonic, and leaving forty men to guard the boats and stores, pursued the enemy. In the evening, they discovered the wife and daughter of Bomazine, the chief of the Norridgewocks, and firing upon them, killed the daughter and took the wife captive.—From her they obtained an accurate account of the strength and position of the enemy and village. Dividing his force Capt. Moulton marched directly upon the village, while Capt. Harmon was ordered with eighty men to take a circuit, and fall upon the enemy from their fields, on the outskirts of their camp. The village soon opened to their view, the Indians being all secure in their wigwams. The troops advanced with the most profound silence, having

been ordered not to fire upon the wigwams until after the Indians had fired, for the commander foresaw that the sudden and unexpected attack would create such a panic, as to cause the Indians to lose their first fire by over shooting. When the English had come close upon the wigwams, one of the Indians stepping out discovered them, and gave the war-whoop. Sixty rushed out to repel the assailants, but such was their surprise and terror, that their first fire was lost, and not a white man suffered from the whole volley of their musketry. The fire was returned upon the Indians with fatal effect. They fled to the river and to their canoes. Some were drowned in attempting to cross the stream, and many were shot in their canoes, and others after they had landed on the opposite bank. Less than fifty of the tribe escaped.

The English returning from the pursuit, found Father Ralle firing from a wigwam on a small body of troops. He had wounded one soldier, which had so incensed Lieut. Jaques, that notwithstanding the order which Capt. Moulton had given not to kill the priest, he forced the door of his camp, and shot him through the head. Jaques excused himself for this disobedience, by affirming that when shot, the Jesuit was loading his piece, and refused to give or take quarter. In the village were found twenty-six killed besides the priest. Among the slain was Bomazine, the chief, and three other famous warriors of the tribe. The whole number killed was supposed to be about eighty. This was the death blow to the Norridgewocks, the fiercest and most formidable tribe of Indians on the Kennebec. Their chief and head men were slain, their spiritual guide lay lifeless at the foot of his cross, their wives and children were dead. But a remnant of the warriors escaped. These were scattered and joined the more northern tribes. As a nation they ceased to exist, though enough of them remained to foster that hatred towards the whites, which such severe chastisements would naturally engender in the savage breast, and to execute further revenge upon the pale faced intruder for his encroachment upon their domains,

and his destruction of their chief, their priest, their families and villages. From this period until the peace of 1763, there was no united effort of the Indians against the settlers on the Kennebec, though small parties of them still lurked on our borders, and committed occasional depredations on the inhabitants. The garrisons at Dresden, Augusta and Waterville, or as they were called, Fort Richmond, Fort Western and Fort Halifax, had become too strong for Indian warfare, and afforded security to the white people in their vicinity.

Arrowsic was not yet destined to have peace.[17] In 1756, a strong party of Indians landed on the head of the island, and killed a Mr. Preble and his wife who were in the field planting corn, and took his son and two daughters captives. Mr. Preble had a fort or block-house there, but so sudden was the attack that he could not escape to it. On their return, the Indians proceeded to Harnden's fort in Woolwich, which was near the Bath ferry, and there took prisoner a Miss Motherwell, a relative of their young captives, a girl of about eighteen years of age, who happened to be without the garrison. One of the children of Mr. Preble, whom they had seized at Arrowsic, was an infant, and crying for food as they supposed, they laid it in the lap of the damsel they had last taken, and asked her to impart to it the nourishment of the mother. With compassion for the helpless infant, she replied, SHE WAS NOT A MOTHER. The tear that fell from her cheek did not soften the savage breast. He seized the child and dashing its head against a rock, relieved it from further suffering. They carried the other captives to Canada and sold them as servants. After the cession of Quebec to the British, their grandfather Brigadier Harnden, went to the province, obtained the release of the young captives and restored them. Immediately after killing Mr. Preble and his wife, the Indians attacked the fort at the lower end of the Arrowsic island, but could not carry it, neither was the garrison strong enough to sally on the assailants. After the skirmish the Indians withdrew, having killed the cattle and done much damage

to the plantations. This is the last act of Indian aggression within the territory under consideration. The peace of 1763, put an end to the French power in the northern Provinces. Their control and influence over their Indian allies was ended. The tribes of the savage were scattered. His strength had dwindled. He was obliged to bow to the power of civilization, and he suffered himself to become the victim of the vices and abuses, that it so readily infuses into the habits of such as cannot be controlled by its better regulations. They who had once been lords of the soil, and who had often held their council fires where the Capitol of the State now stands, in proud example of the power of the arts, and the supremacy of our civil laws and institutions, were doomed to retire, and leave the graves of their fathers, and the land of their birth and home. But few remain, and like the broken and scattered limbs of the ancient trees of their forest, or like the shrub that has sprung up at its root, they still show the strength and shape of the original material, but the rude hand of time, and the innovation of modern enterprise and cupidity, have destroyed its natural beauty and comeliness. In the recognized principles and laws of civil society and our own institutions, the Indians might have found an apology for their resistance against, and their aggressions upon their pale faced intruders. But to the destiny of nations unused to the rules of war, they were obliged to submit. Now since the deeds of the savage no longer make us quail, the feelings of humanity may predominate, and we may

> "Indulge the tear
> That steals impassioned o'er a nation's doom;
> To us each twig from Adam's stock is dear,
> And tears of sorrow deck an Indian's tomb."

As early as 1642, the Plymouth colony, who had a grant of a tract of land on the Kennebec, erected a fort and trading house at Georgetown.[18] By some it is supposed this fort was at Small Point, and by others at Sagadahock bay.

There are remains of cellars, wells and other works of art at each of these places, which would confirm the supposition that either was the place of fortification. Tradition is divided as to the point of location. In the journal of Gov. Winthrop it is recorded, that in 1642, the Indians hearing of the general conspiracy against the English, determined to begin at Sagadahock, and one of them knowing that Mr. Edward Winslow used to walk within the palisades, prepared to shoot him, but as he was about to do it, Mr. Winslow not seeing him, nor suspecting any thing, but having recreated himself sufficiently, suddenly turned and went into the house, and was thus providentially preserved.

In 1714, John Watts,[19] of Boston, who married a granddaughter of Major Clark, one of the original proprietors of Arrowsic, and who inherited a part of that island in right of his wife, removed there and erected a large brick house on the lower end of the island, near Butler's cove, and added flankharts, with mounted cannon for defence. He brought the bricks from Medford. In 1718,[20] Watts' house and one other near the upper end of the island, occupied by Mr. Preble, were the only dwelling houses on Arrowsic, all the rest having been destroyed by the Indians. In 1728, Samuel Denny[21] came from England, and settled near Watts, and erected a block house for his security. He was a man of remarkable decision of character, industrious and possessing an education superior to his fellow townsmen. He was afterwards chief justice of the court of Common Pleas, and president of the Sessions, then a court of criminal jurisdiction. He not only exercised judicial, but all the executive powers within his precinct. The stocks in which he performed many of the sentences of his own tribunal, are still remembered by some of our ancient settlers. The late Governor Sullivan commenced the practice of law here in 1768, and resided on Arrowsic island near Major Denny's, before his removal to Boston.* The building occupied by him as an office, is still standing near the river, a

* He first removed to Biddeford. *Ed.*

little north from Squirrel Point. On the opposite bank of the river, in 1734, settled James McCobb, the ancestor of the McCobbs of our vicinity. His house stood where is now the mansion of Judge Hill. In 1720, the Watts' house was occupied by one John Penhallow,[22] who also married a descendant of Major Clark, and some of the land which belonged to that estate remained in the Penhallow family until 1772. The name is now extinct in these parts.

The town of Georgetown was incorporated in 1718,[23] and then included all the territory within the present limits of Bath, Woolwich, and Phippsburg. The title to Arrowsic and Reskegan, or Parker's Island, has already been stated, as well as that of Neguasset or Woolwich, to have been derived from the Indians. The title to the principal part of the soil within the present limits of Bath, is derived from the same source. It was claimed by David Jeffries in 1761, by purchase from the Kennebec Proprietors, who, by the name of the Kennebec Purchase, claimed the title to this territory, under a deed from the Plymouth company. In 1766, Jeffries brought his action for the premises, being about 12,000 acres, describing them precisely according to the present boundaries of the town. In this action Nathaniel Donnell, Esquire, of York, who many years before had purchased from the descendants of Robert Gutch, a part of the demanded premises, was admitted to defend, he having in the mean time sold a considerable portion of it. Mr. Donnell disclaimed all except that part of the demanded premises which lies between the north line of the farm of the late Edmund Pettengill, and the south line of the late John Peterson, and as to that pleaded the general issue in such actions. The Plaintiff, to prove his title, relied upon the grant from the council of Plymouth in England, to William Bradford and his associates, in 1629,* commonly called the Plymouth patent, and sundry mesne conveyances to his lessor. This patent included the tract of land at Plymouth in Massachusetts, where Gov. Brad-

* This patent was granted Jan. 13, 1630, New Style. *Ed.*

ford and his associates had located the colony, and another at Kennebec, which was described as "all that tract of land or part of New England in America which lyeth within or between, and extendeth itself from the utmost limits of Cobbiseconte, alias Comiseconte, which adjoineth the river Kennebec, alias Kennebekike, towards the Western Ocean and a place called the falls of Neguamkike in America aforesaid, and the space of fifteen English miles on each side of the said river commonly called Kennebec river, and all the said river called Kennebec that is within the limits, together with free ingress and egress from the sea commonly called the Western Ocean to the river called Kennebec," "and from said river to said Ocean." This patent was surrendered in 1640, to the colony of Plymouth, and in 1660, the colony, for £400 sterling, sold to Antipas Boies, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle, and John Winslow, all their lands at Kennebec. Tyng and his co-tenants in 1751, formed themselves into a company, and in 1761 granted the tract of land within the limits of Bath to Sylvester Gardiner, the lessor of Jeffries. Donnell the defendant denied, 1st, the right of the Plaintiff to the premises, and 2d, that if he had a colorable right, the right of entry was taken away.

The original grant having included a tract of land on the Kennebec, it was contended that the tract sued for was not included within it, inasmuch as it lay on the Sagadahock, or as the Indians pronounced it, Sunka-tunka-rung, which means the mouth of rivers. The descendant traced his title from the heirs and descendants of Robert Gutch, who resided on the premises prior to 1670, and who purchased the same of Robinhood, a noted Sachem of one of the Indian tribes, by deed dated May 29, 1660. This action was tried at the Supreme Court, at Falmouth, June 1766, and a verdict returned in favor of Donnell, upon which a motion was made by the Plaintiff "for an appeal to his Majesty in Council, and having been heard thereon by counsel, the motion was denied, it being the unanimous opinion of the Court that an appeal doth not lie by the

Royal Charter in this case."[24] The counsel for the Plaintiff were Jeremiah Gridley, James Otis, Jr., and William Cushing; for the Defendant, William Parker, Daniel Farnham, and David Sewall. The title to the territory that is between North street and the Academy, and the river and the old middle line, so called, being about 500 acres, is derived from Margaret Johnson, grand daughter of Mr. Gutch, who conveyed it to Lieut. James Springer, in whose family she resided at the time of her decease. The title to the remainder of the land not disclaimed by Mr. Donnell, is derived from him. The title to that part of the township which is on the north of the tract claimed by Donnell, except so much of it as lies north of a line drawn southeast from Brick Island, in Merrymeeting Bay, or as it was called by the Indians, Quabacook, which was held to be within the Kennebec purchase, is derived from the Pejepscot proprietors. They granted it, being about 1,000 acres, to Joseph Heath, as a consideration for his services as surveyor. In an ancient conveyance of a part of the estate of Richard Wharton, a lawyer of Boston, who died in 1697, it is denominated Lawson's Plantation of 1000 acres at Whisgeag, or Whisby. In 1720, Robert Temple having purchased a tract of land on the east side of Merrymeeting Bay, brought several families from Cork, in Ireland, to settle his plantation, which he called Cork,[25] and which to this day retains the name of the country of which that is a principal city. This is the same tract called Lawson's plantation at Whisgeag, and which was included within the land sold to him by the Indians in 1640. The lands in the lower part of the town, which were disclaimed by Donnell, are held by purchase from ancient settlers, who claimed a title by possession and improvement. The river has now lost its name of Sagadahock, and preserves that of Kennebec, from its source to the sea—a name derived from Kennebis, an Indian Sachem, who resided on Swan Island.

Robert Gutch was the original proprietor and first settler of Bath. He was a minister of the gospel, and resided near where Levi Houghton's house now stands. He came

from Salem, having been admitted into the church there the 21st of March, 1641, and admitted a freeman in 1642. We find him serving on a jury of trials at a court held at Casco, July, 1666. Having purchased of Robinhood by deed dated May 29, 1660, a part of the lands he afterwards owned, he immediately commenced the settlement of his plantation, and here resided until 1679, when he was drowned crossing the river.[26] He officiated in a church that stood at the upper end of Arrowsic Island, and near the house of Mr. Preble. Some of the remains of their church were to be seen in 1768. It is not now positively known to what sect of Christians Mr. Gutch belonged. Tradition says he was a Presbyterian, and we are confirmed in the belief that he was of that denomination, from the fact that a large proportion of the early settlers of Arrowsic and the vicinity were of that persuasion. In 1664, Alexander Thwoit dwelt at Winnegance, on land he purchased of Mox Dorumby,[27] an Indian. He resided here but a short time, having purchased of the Sagamore of the Androscoggin tribe, a tract of land on the north of Merrymeeting Bay, his principal residence seems to have been there. In 1679, one Edward Cammel lived at Whisgeag. In 1717, one Elkins resided in Long Reach, and built a house which was burnt by the Indians in 1722. In 1718, Joseph Heath occupied a house which stood in Major Harwood's field, near his present dwelling. In 1734, Capt. Donnell, a kinsman of Nathaniel Donnell, before mentioned, resided here, and died in 1761. His house stood where Major Zina Hyde's house now is. Afterwards this place was occupied by Capt. Benjamin Donnell, who was also a descendant of Nathaniel Donnell, of York.

In 1742, Jonathan Philbrook came from Greenland, N. H., took a lease of land under Mr. Donnell, and built a house, and made other improvements here.

He was a father of the late Deacon Joshua Philbrook, and his house stood on the point now owned by Gen. King, and near where the General's mansion house now is. He afterwards built a house, where George Marston now re-

sides, and occupied it with his son Job for several years. In 1756, Mr. Philbrook built and resided in the house afterwards owned by Major Edward H. Page, and now occupied by John Tucker. In May 1748, Job Philbrook was taken by the Indians, and carried into captivity with one Maloon,[28] an Irishman, possessing much vivacity, and heedless of his fate. The Indians came upon them suddenly, as they were ploughing in the field, where is now the garden of Rev. Mr. Ellingwood. Taking the two laborers prisoners, the Indians left the oxen yoked to the plough. Having crossed Whisgeag, and being hurried on by the Indians, Maloon said to Mr. Philbrook, "and who do you think will take care of the oxen to-night?" The owner was so incensed that the man should be so regardless of his own fate, while he manifested such care for the beasts, that he was about to smite Maloon for his seeming levity. The Irishman said, "Never mind, I'll do it soon myself." His prediction was nearly verified, for on coming to the Saint Lawrence, Maloon was sold to a gentleman just embarking in a French ship for Europe. Near the mouth of that river the ship was taken by a cruiser, and sent into Boston, and Maloon was then released, and in less than six weeks from the time of his seizure arrived at Bath.

Mr. Philbrook was exchanged, and returned in October following.

From this period the settlement in Long Reach gradually progressed, and in May, 1753, the persons then residing within the limits of the town, petitioned the General Court of the Province to be incorporated into a separate Parish. The petition bears the signature of Jonathan Philbrook and forty-six others, and "humbly shows that the petitioners are inhabitants of those lands on Kennebec river, bounded southerly by Winnegance river, easterly on Kennebec river, westerly by Stevens' river, and northerly by Merrymeeting Bay, in length about nine miles, and breadth about three miles, which about fourteen years ago were annexed by the Honorable Court to Georgetown," and they prayed to be set off from Georgetown as a separate

Parish. "In Council, September 7, 1753, the petition was read, with a copy of the vote of the inhabitants of Georgetown, passed at a meeting in July preceding, and it appearing that they had no objections to make thereto, it was ordered that the petitioners and their lands, as described in their petition, be set off as a separate parish and district, or precinct, and that the inhabitants enjoy and be vested with all the privileges of other precincts within this province.

"In Council sent down for concurrence.

J. WILLARD, Secretary.

"In the House of Representatives, Sept. 7th, 1753,

"Read and concurred,

T. HUBBARD, Speaker.

"Consented to,

W. SHIRLEY."

The parish was thus separated from Georgetown, and was denominated the second parish in that town, and was the first branch lopped from the ancient stock. Such was the poverty of the people inhabiting the territory newly incorporated, in comparison with their fellow townsmen, that in derision they were called the twenty cow parish, probably from the number of those animals then on their valuation. In 1759, Neguasset, or Nauseag, as it was sometimes called, was incorporated into a town by the name of Woolwich. It was within this town that Sir William Phips, who in 1691 was the Governor of Massachusetts, was born. His parents were among its earliest settlers, and lived on a peninsula in Montseag Bay, that to this day retains the name of Phips' Point. In 1816, that part of Georgetown which is bounded by Kennebec on the east, the sea on the south, Stevens' river on the west, and Winnegance on the north, was incorporated into a town, by the name of Phipsburg. Thus was Georgetown dismembered of its most flourishing and prosperous territory, and retained only its ancient Arrowsic and Reskegan, and some small neighboring islands, the scenes of its former wars, and the residence of its first and enterprising settlers.

The second parish was immediately organized under the act of incorporation, at a parish meeting held at the house of Jonathan Philbrook, Jr., April 2, 1754, by virtue of a warrant issued by Samuel Denny, Esq. Humphrey Purrington was Moderator, Samuel Brown was elected Parish Clerk, Jonathan Philbrook, Sen., Lieut. John Lemont and James Springer, Parish Committee, and Lieutenant Jonathan Philbrook, Jr., a committee to procure a minister; £26, 18s. 4d. was raised for the support of the gospel, and a vote passed to build a meeting house, and a committee, consisting of Jonathan Philbrook, Sen., Lieut. John Lemont, Capt. Nathaniel Donnell, and Lieut. Joseph Berry, was appointed to choose a suitable place for its location, with power, if they could not agree, to choose a committee from an adjoining town. The committee did not agree as to the location of the proposed building, and in pursuance of the power given them, chose a committee from Brunswick for the purpose, who reported in favor of the lot given to the parish by Capt. Donnell, being that where the meeting house was afterwards erected, near the old burying ground.

The building was not commenced until 1760, and though soon so far completed as to be occupied for public worship, was not finished until 1772. It stood until 1825, when it was sold and taken down, and removed to the steam mill, where it was rebuilt, and used for shops and dwellings.

The facilities for commercial enterprise which the inhabitants of Long Reach enjoyed, soon induced them to engage in commerce and ship building. Prior to the year 1755, Jonathan Philbrook and his sons built two vessels here, which were employed in the coasting trade. In the forests on the banks of the river were found white oak and pine of the best quality, and in great abundance, for the construction of ships, which soon led adventurers from abroad to this place.

In 1762, Capt. William Swanton, who had been a soldier in the French war, and who was at the reduction of Louisburgh in 1758, came here to reside. He was a ship builder

by occupation, industrious and skilful in his trade. During the first year of his residence here, he built the ship "Earl of Bute," for a Scotch merchant. His ship yard was where Gen. McLellan's wharf and store now are. He continued the business and built a vessel every year until the revolutionary war. In 1763, he built a ship for one Jennes, an English merchant, and in 1764, a large ship for one Ayles, called the "Rising Sun," and the next year a smaller ship, called the "Moon." In 1774, he built for a Salem merchant a ship called the "Black Prince," which was fitted as a privateer, and which for model and sailing was reputed to be a master piece of workmanship. Capt. Swanton afterwards occupied the yard near Mr. Houghton's, and continued in the active employment of his trade, until age deprived him of his physical powers. He died in 1811, aged 99 years. With the exception of the two coasting vessels built and owned by Messrs. Philbrook and sons, no vessel was owned by the inhabitants until 1772, when six of them united and employed Joshua Raynes to build at the yard where William Richardson's store and wharf now are, the sloop "Unity," of 140 tons. She was profitably employed in the West India trade, till 1775, when she was taken by a British cruiser off Seguin, on her homeward passage, with a full cargo of molasses.

Situated as the town is on the bank of a river, extending far into the interior of a country, abounding in valuable timber, as soon as the peace with Great Britain had removed the restrictions from trade, and other treaties had opened the channels of commercial enterprise, the inhabitants became actively and profitably engaged in this branch of industry. Their principal articles of export were lumber and fish to the West India islands, in return for which the staple productions of those islands were received. An extensive and profitable trade was also carried on in timber to Great Britain. The carrying trade from the Southern States to Europe began to increase, and gave to our ships much employment, which afforded a sure and liberal profit, while the coastwise transportation gave full

employ to vessels of a smaller class. Vessels were in demand, and many were built here. The activity of this interest and its attendant profits gave employment and life to all the various enterprises with which commerce is so intimately connected, and was thus productive of great prosperity to the place.

Dependent as the town was on commerce, it may be presumed, that the restrictive measures immediately preceding the late war deeply affected its prosperity and retarded its growth; such was the fact. The enterprise of our citizens has, however, since the war, again become active, and the town is now progressing in wealth and prosperity.

Bath was made a port of entry, and with the towns on the Kennebec a collection district, in 1780. David Trufant was the first revenue officer, and Wins. Hobby, clerk and inspector. In 1789, William Webb was appointed collector of the Port, and performed the duties of that office until 1804. In 1804, Dudley B. Hobart was appointed collector. In 1807, Joshua Wingate, Jr. In 1820, Joseph F. Wingate. In 1824, Mark L. Hill. In 1825, John B. Swanton. In 1829, William King.

The tonnage of this district was in 1794—5407 tons. In 1804—10,666 tons. In 1815—20,259 tons. In 1825—23,466 tons. In 1830—30,218 tons. In 1833—44,191 tons.

From the time of the incorporation of the parish until after the incorporation of the same into a town, the inhabitants usually transacted in parish meeting all their town business, being invested with all the powers now exercised by towns in their municipal capacity. The inhabitants being few in number, and their trade with the natives being cut off by the recent destruction of those tribes, and occupying a territory not the most favorable for agricultural improvement, they resorted to the ocean and the forest for their principal means of support; and though industrious and enterprising, and desirous of extending the blessings of the freedom they enjoyed to their posterity, they did but little towards the internal improvement of the place, or the

dissemination of knowledge through its first and best channels, primary schools. We do not find that before 1775, any public appropriation was made for the support of schools, and then but five pounds were raised for that purpose. Before that time private subscriptions had been made for this purpose, as liberal perhaps as was consistent with the means of the inhabitants. Immediately after the incorporation of the town as such, the sum assessed for the support of schools was raised to forty pounds per annum. This sum was the annual appropriation for this purpose until 1795. In 1796, four hundred dollars were raised for schools, and from that time until 1800, about the same sum annually. The first school house erected in the town was built in Long Reach, in 1794, and stands near the north meeting house, time not yet having obliterated its old "Erudition," painted over the principal entrance at the date of its completion. From the year 1753, to 1771, Samuel Brown was annually elected Parish Clerk, and the parish records in the neat chirography of that officer are still preserved; from the latter year until 1781, Dummer Sewall was chosen to that office. The Parish meetings immediately after its organization were held at the house of Jonathan Philbrook, until 1758. After that period, for several years, they were held at the house of Lieut. James Springer, the first innholder in the town, and whose house stood where David Sewall's house now is. They were occasionally, until the meeting house was completed, held at the house of Lieut. Joseph Berry, at Mill cove, or at the house of Isaiah Crooker, which stood near the mansion house of the late William Webb. From the rate bill of 1759, we learn that there were residing within the parish, at that time, sixty rateable polls. Of this number not one now remains. Col. John Lemont, who in the bill is styled Lieutenant, was the last who survived. But one individual who was born in this town prior to that period still remains to tell the tale of ancient times. This is Hannah Page, the widow of the late Edward H. Page.

At this town, Joseph Berry, Samuel Brown and Joshua

Philbrook, were assessors; Benjamin Thompson, treasurer; and Joseph White, constable. The number of dwelling houses then in Long Reach was twelve. They were located as follows. John Tarps', on the hill near Gen. King's stone house, Philip Hodgkins', near David Gurney's, James Springer's tavern before spoken of, Joshua Philbrook's, now occupied by his daughter Mrs. Higgins, Joseph White's, now owned by William B. Larrabee, Jonathan Philbrook's, now occupied by John Tucker, Capt. Nathaniel Donnell's, near Zina Hyde's, Moses Hodgkins', near the south meeting house, David Trufant's, now owned by Abraham Hammatt, Brient Robinson's, at Winnegance, Jonathan Philbrook's, Junior, near George F. Patten's, Isaiah Crooker's, before spoken of. Of those that remain, the house occupied by Mr. Tucker is the oldest, having been built by Jonathan Philbrook, Sen. in 1756.

On the declaration of independence, the inhabitants manifested all that love of freedom and determination to resist the oppressive acts of the mother country, which at that eventful period was so apparent throughout the United Colonies. In 1775, the Provincial Congress, of which John Hancock was President, was assembled at Concord, and having passed resolutions in favor of an energetic support of the measures adopted for the freedom of the colonies, reciting that "whereas the preservation of our country from slavery depends under God, on an effectual execution of continental and provincial measures for that purpose," transmitted copies of these resolves to the several towns and parishes in the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

Upon receiving a copy, a meeting of the parish was immediately assembled to take into consideration the subject of them, and in the simple but strong language of the times, it was unanimously "voted, to abide by the resolves of Congress now before us." They forthwith divided the parish into two wards, and in parish meeting elected as military officers for the west ward, Benjamin Lemont, Captain, Stephen Coombs, Lieut., and Jesse Holbrook, Ensign; for the east ward, Dummer Sewall, Captain, John Berry,

Lieut., and John Wood, Ensign. They also chose a committee to unite with Woolwich and Bowdoinham, to elect a member to represent these three precincts in the Provincial Congress, to be held at Cambridge. The committee of the parish were John Lemont, Jonathan Mitchell, John Wood, Henry Sewall, Captain William Swanton; and Dummer Sewall was by the Delegates elected a member of that Congress. At the same meeting a committee of safety, constituted of Philip Higgins, Zadock Lincoln, William Swanton, James Lemont and David Ring, was chosen. The two militia companies were immediately organized and armed for service. They assembled every week for drill and discipline, and as often as a draft was required for the continental army, or a detachment ordered for guard duty on the coast, which was soon infested with the cruisers and privateers of the enemy, they were marched to the point of defence. The British troops did not land on the coast at any place near the Kennebec. Occasional depredations however were committed on the property of the inhabitants, by crews of the privateers.

In August, 1780, two British private armed vessels came up the Kennebec as far as Jones' Eddy, for the purpose of destroying some American shipping then lying in the river. They anchored in the Eddy at night, and the alarm was immediately given. A detachment from Long Reach companies, under the command of Capt. Nathaniel Springer, was posted on Bluff Head,and with two field pieces, one of which was commanded by Sergt. Edward H. Page, cannonaded and severely annoyed the enemy during the night. Several on board the ships were killed, and at daylight the next morning they slipped their cables and went to sea. On their way down the river they were pursued by the Americans in boats, in one of which was Capt. Springer. Near Butler's Point, some of the Georgetown troops, supposing the pursuers to be a part of the enemy, fired on them, and killed Capt. Springer. Thus perished, by the hand of one of his countrymen, while both were engaged in the same cause, a worthy and patriotic citizen. The act was the consequence

of that want of concert which is ever attendant on a military force not subject to some one chief. The troops of Long Reach were attached to the regiment commanded by Col. Samuel McCobb, of Georgetown, and to the brigade commanded by Brigadier-General Charles Cushing, of Pownalboro'.

In 1775, one regiment was detached from this brigade, with orders to join the American army, then under General Washington, at Cambridge. The regiment was commanded by Col. Samuel McCobb, Lieut. Col. Dummer Sewall, and Major White, of Topsham, and arrived at the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief in 1776, and was immediately ordered to Rhode Island, where Col. Sewall was appointed muster-master for the province of Maine, and returned to perform the duties of that appointment. He was engaged in this service during the remainder of the war. The regiment operated with the army during the campaign, and when the time of service of the detachment expired, many enlisted in the continental army, and some returned. Of the officers, Capt. Benjamin Lemont and Capt. John Lemont, of this town, remained; and of the soldiers in the regiment in actual service who belonged to this town, and who are still living, (1833,) were William Brown, John Sanford, John Farrin, Joseph White, Thomas Lemont, Thomas Crawford, John Holbrook, Philip Higgins, David Lemont, David Clifford and James M. Mitchell. Among the citizens of the town who served in the war of the Revolution at other periods, and who have not before been named, were Joshua Shaw, afterwards an enterprising merchant of the place, Luke Lambard, Patrick Grace, David Ring and Joshua Raynes. These have deceased. Among the living, (1833,) are Joseph Stockbridge, who served during the war, and who, at the siege of Yorktown, was a sergeant in the corps of light infantry, under the Marquis La Fayette; Elisha Shaw, who was lieutenant of a company posted at Cox's Head, and Peleg Tallman, who was a seaman in the navy, and who lost his arm on board the continental sloop-of-war Trumbull, in an action with a British armed ship. In June,

1779, an expedition was ordered by the General Court of Massachusetts to dislodge the enemy from Castine, or, as it was then called, Baggaduce.

The disastrous termination of that campaign need not now be recited, nor the causes that led to it detailed. In this campaign we again find Col. McCobb at the head of his regiment, from which, by orders of the Council, were detached for the attack on Baggaduce one hundred and twenty men, with orders to rendezvous at Townsend and there join the army under Gen. Lovel, the fleet having been ordered to touch there to receive the Kennebec forces. Of Colonel McCobb's detachment there were killed in the attack, Capt. John Hinkley, of Georgetown, and Miller Hinkley, of this town, an apprentice to Captain John Wood. Prior to the war of the Revolution, the British authorities sent their ships to the Kennebec to procure masts for the use of their navy. The cove in this town, owned by Major Harward, was used to secure the timber brought down the river for that purpose, and was called the "King's Dock." The British government had a navy agent here named Edward Parry. On hearing of the battle of Lexington, the inhabitants considered all connexion between themselves and the mother country dissolved, and reconciliation hopeless. The subjects in the service of the government were declared enemies to the country, and all operations in behalf of the transatlantic government, infringements of American liberty, and their agents, if taken, prisoners of war. At the time the news arrived that hostilities had commenced, a great number of men in the employ of the crown were hewing masts at "King's Dock," under the superintendence of Mr. Parry. The inhabitants, to about the number of thirty, assembled, and seizing such weapons as came to hand, marched under the command of Col. Sewall to the banks of the river near the dock, and there halting, their leader advanced, and approaching the agent and his men, commanded them, in the name of the people of Massachusetts Bay, to desist from their labors. The British immediately ceased their operations and fled to their boats, and joining their ships that lay at

"Jones' Eddy," embarked and joined the fleet, then on the coast under Mowat. Mr. Parry surrendered himself prisoner of war. The committee of safety for the district, at the head of which was Brigadier-General Samuel Thompson, was immediately notified of these proceedings, and convened at the house of Joseph Lambard for the trial of the prisoner. Of the five committee men, none of whom appeared to doubt their authority, or stopped to inquire into the extent of the power with which they had been invested, two were for speedily executing upon the prisoner the punishment which the rules of war require to be inflicted on the spy. The majority were, however, induced to refer the prisoner's case to the then supreme tribunal, the Provincial Congress at Watertown. He was accordingly kept in custody until he was sent by the committee, under the care of Luke Lambard, to the congress, by whose order he was committed to jail and there detained until he was exchanged about a year afterwards. Mr. Parry was from London, a man of integrity, honor, and the most urbane manners, and although a staunch supporter of the king, and the then obnoxious measures of the Parliment, was a close and impartial observer enough of the signs of the times to foresee that the independence of the States would be the result of the collision between the King and the colonies. From a letter from Mr. Parry to one of the committee of safety, dated October 16, 1775, the original of which is before us, we make the following extracts:

"I am much obliged to you for your favors of the 30th of last month, and the 12th of this. I assure you they gave me pleasure and satisfaction, and I think that happiness was considerably augmented by reason of my gloomy retirement in this place.

"As I thought my petitioning at present for my enlargement would not be attended with success, and not knowing what to say, that would answer the purpose, I had thoughts of drafting out one and sending it to Mr. Sullivan to be corrected and methodised, lest some heedless expression might prove prejudicial, and it weighed with me that I had

not a sufficient intimacy with that gentleman to presume to give him so much trouble, excepting the plea of charity to the unfortunate—perhaps he would take it unkindly in me, and think me very impertinent or imprudent, and perhaps both—I wish I could be so free, for I wish most ardently to regain my liberty. I am glad to see that you have such a respectable list of magistrates appointed in your County—I wish I could say the same in a general manner of a neighboring county—I wish I may have a trial in the county of Lincoln, where my supposed crimes were committed, as the Civil Authority is now established there; it's a wish, and but a mere wish,—for I don't expect any farther examination or trial than what I have had already."

"I am much obliged to you for advice, and will put on the patience and fortitude you desire, and will endeavor to overlook a few months (but you say years too) confinement, and will anticipate future peace and liberty—and shall strive to think that 'whatever is, is right'—notwithstanding, sometimes, the seeming impropriety thereof to our finite senses.

"I am of your opinion that it will be probably very long before a reconciliation will take place, but I hope for the welfare of both countries they may be united to each other again, notwithstanding the present acrimony of both parties. The present unnatural and unhappy controversy, to speak metaphorically, appears like a mighty, high, long mountain of very irregular surface, and the Britons placed on one side, and the Colonists on the other, to each of which the prospect appears very different. If they were to change situations, each would perceive that in some degree they judged erroneously of the true aspect of that irregular mountain, and no one can judge of it precisely unless he was placed exactly over it, and not able to comprehend it at one view."

In 1780, the inhabitants of the second parish petitioned the Legislature to be incorporated into a town by the name of "Reach," and in February, 1781, the town was incorporated by the name of Bath, instead of that, which from long

familiarity the inhabitants had become attached to, as the designation of their territory. By the act of incorporation the town is bounded, southerly and westerly, by New Meadows river, so called, northwardly and westerly, by Merrymeeting bay, eastwardly by Kennebec river, and southwardly and easterly by Winnegance creek, and by a path which was formerly an Indian carrying place, as said path runs to the nearest part of Casco Bay. The town is in latitude 43° 53′ north, and longitude 60° 44′ west from Greenwich. It lies twelve miles from the sea, and is accessible by ships of the largest size, and it is very seldom that the river is so obstructed by ice as not to be free for navigation to and from the sea at all seasons. In 1780, the river was frozen as far down as Judge Hill's, in Phipsburg, and the ice was sufficiently strong to bear teams. That winter a mast was hauled from Potter's mills, through Fiddlers' Reach, to this place. The winter was uncommonly cold, and the snow was over four feet deep, and did not disappear until the latter part of April. Even Casco bay was frozen as far into the sea as the island called the White Bull, and was travelled upon from Merriconeag to Portland. A like occurrence has not since happened.

At the first town meeting, held March 19, 1781, Samuel Harnden, Esq., of Woolwich, who by the act of incorporation was authorized to call the first meeting, presided as Moderator, and John Wood was chosen Town Clerk, Capt. William Swanton, Benjamin Lemont and Joseph Berry, Selectmen. The votes at this meeting for state officers were for John Hancock, Governor, 29—Thomas Cushing, Lieut. Governor, 28—Thomas Rice, Senator, 23, and for William Lithgow, for the same office, 8. Ten thousand dollars were raised to pay for the enlistment of soldiers for the continental army, which sum according to the existing rate of the currency of the country at the time, would amount to £100. £80 in gold or silver was raised for town expenses, and William Lithgow, Jr., who resided in Georgetown was chosen agent to the general court, at two shillings and sixpence per day.

In 1782, Dummer Sewall was chosen town clerk and held the office until 1793, when Francis Winter was chosen. In 1801, Christopher Cushing was elected, and the next year Mr. Winter again. In 1803, Major David Shaw was elected and held the office by each successive election to the present time.

The annual appropriation made by the town for the pay of their troops, was £100 until the peace of 1783, and in 1785 we find the first appropriation for highways, which was £100. At that time the only highway in the village was the present High street. The only roads leading into the town from the west, were one by the head of Stevens' river, and the other crossing that river at Brown's ferry. The old road to Brunswick was laid out in 1789, but was not made passable until six or seven years afterwards. So great was then considered the undertaking to erect the bridge at Whisgeag, that the town petitioned the legislature for a lottery to raise funds for this purpose.

Upon the establishment of the United States mail, it was first brought to this place from Portland by Richard Kimball on foot, who in this way delivered it once a fortnight, at this and the intermediate offices. For a short period prior to the revolution, Luke Lambard transported the mail between Boston and Kennebec on horseback, once a fortnight. It was not until after 1800, that we received a mail oftener than once a week. The post office was kept at the dwelling house of Col. Sewall, the first post master, until 1805.

For the first three years after the incorporation of the town, no representative was sent to the General Court. In 1784, Francis Winter was elected, and for several years afterwards whenever the town voted to send, until 1799, Mr. Winter was elected. In 1799 Major Joshua Shaw was elected representative by a majority of two votes over those for James Davidson, the opposing candidate. In 1800 the town voted not to send. In 1801 and in 1802 Joshua Shaw was elected. In 1803, Samuel Davis. In 1804 and '5, William King; in 1806, William King and Peleg Tallman.

The delegate from the town to the convention held at Boston in 1787 for the ratification of the Federal constitution, was Dummer Sewall.

When the parish was incorporated, in 1753, the number of inhabitants was about 200. We have no means of ascertaining the precise number of inhabitants of the town until 1790. It was then 949. In 1800—1225. In 1810—2491. In 1820—3026. In 1830—3773.

In 1792 and 1793 the small-pox prevailed in the town to an alarming extent. A hospital for the reception of the patients was erected by the town near Donnell's Pond, and many who were infected were removed to it and kept under strict regulations. The number of deaths from this disorder is not preserved; they were not, however, numerous in proportion to the population.

In 1779 a corporation, in which John Peterson was the principal stockholder and the chief proprietor of the scheme, excavated a canal which united the Kennebec with the New Meadows, at the head of that river. The object was to transport lumber, through the passage, as well as to facilitate boat navigation from the Kennebec to Casco Bay. The work was finished, but did not answer the expectation of the public nor compensate the labors of the proprietors, and soon went to ruin. It remains now only sufficiently definite to make the boundaries of the lots which border upon it.

The church first established in the county of Lincoln was at Georgetown. The members were Presbyterians. In 1734, Rev. William McLanathan[29] was ordained as an evangelist, and officiated there until 1744. The house of worship was near the Mansion house of the late Major Lithgow, where Mr. McLanathan usually officiated; but whether Mr. McLanathan had the pastoral charge of the church we are not informed. Although a majority of the inhabitants were attached to the Presbyterian forms of church government, there were some among them who were Congregationalists. Hence there were dissensions, though each party supported for a number of years a clergyman of the Presbyterian sect.

In 1738, Mr. James Morton was employed to preach at Georgetown. He officiated on Arrowsic, near Major Denny's, and in 1740 was invited to settle as pastor. He did not accept. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists were nearly equally divided, and neither branch able to support a minister. A committee, consisting of individuals of each party, was raised with a view to settle the difficulties, but did not effect an amicable arrangement, for it appears the town voted to pay each minister £110 salary a year, or in case but one should be employed, £120.

Mr. Morton having left the place, Mr. McLanathan officiated for both societies one year on a salary of £200. In 1743, Rev. Robert Rutherford was employed as a preacher for a short time, and the same year Major Denny was appointed by the Congregationalists to procure a minister for them, with directions to take the advice of the minister in Boston, in regard to the person. In 1747, Rev. David Mitchell was employed, and paid six pounds, old tenor, per Sabbath, for dispensing the word of God to the people. In 1748, it was voted that Thomas Stinson attend the Presbytery at Londonderry, to procure the Rev. Alexander Boyd to preach to the society. Mr. Boyd was born in Glasgow—he had been liberally educated, and was instructed in pastoral duty by a professor in his native city. He was licensed by the Presbytery, and sent to Georgetown as an evangelist. Being acceptable to the people, he was invited to settle upon a salary of £400, and a settlemont of £500, old tenor. He did not accept the invitation, nor did the Presbytery, who considered their licentiates amenable to them, at least for several years, consent to the settlement at that time. The invitation was afterwards accepted by the candidate, and the settlement consented to by the Presbytery. Mr. Boyd, however, was not settled, though he officiated in Georgetown until 1752. From this time until 1765, the people were destitute of preaching. It is probable that during this time the original Presbyterian church became extinct, and renounced its peculiar form of worship and distinguishing sentiments. In July, 1765, Rev. Ezekiel Emer-

son, from Uxbridge, Mass., was ordained as pastor of the church and society in Georgetown, and a church covenant was drawn up and acknowledged by the members of the church, the males being eight in number; and September following the church was reorganised, several being admitted into it from the old church, and some others taken into fellowship. Very soon after this, the church consisted of more than one hundred communicants.

In 1779, the pressure of war upon the inhabitants, and the loss by the depreciation of the continental currency, deprived them of the means of affording suitable support to Mr. Emerson, and he removed to Norridgewock, where he resided until 1783, when he returned, and resumed his pastoral charge, and was faithful and devoted to the ministration of the gospel in his parish until 1810, when age depriving him of his mental powers, he retired from the ministry and died November 9, 1815, aged 79, revered, respected and beloved for his usefulness and holiness.

In June, 1765, Rev. Josiah Winship was ordained pastor of the church at that time organized in Woolwich. He officiated until 1816, when Rev. Jonathan Adams was ordained as his colleague. Mr. Winship's connection with the church and society continued until his death in 1824.

It has already been observed that the second parish, or Bath, was set off from Georgetown in 1753, and that Rev. Robert Gutch was among the first settlers of this territory. He was a Presbyterian, and although officiating on Arrowsic, may be considered the first minister of Bath. When the second parish was incorporated, the inhabitants were about equally divided in religious sentiment, and, as is the case in small communities consisting of two distinct parties, the zeal and rancour of each far exceeded their numerical strength. When the community becomes more numerous, we always find a subdivision, especially in religious opinions. This, as in all the other divisions of sentiment among men, deprives the main contending parties of much of their rancour and intolerance, and the devotees of each particular creed begin to search after and become the advocates

of those first and best principles for which all profess to be contending.

The first account we have of any stated preaching in Bath, is that Rev. Mr. Merriam officiated as minister here in 1752, and was invited to settle upon a salary of £66 13s. 4d. He did not accept the invitation, and although we find an appropriation annually made for the support of the gospel, it was not until 1759 that another minister was procured. This was Mr. Isaac Livermore, who officiated a short time, and after his leaving the parish the same year a Mr. Parker was employed. Each of these persons were requested to settle as pastors, with a salary of £53 6s. 8d. per annum, but both declined accepting. In 1762, Rev. Solomon Page removed hither from Greenland, N. H. He resided on the farm lately the residence of his son, Major Edward H. Page. Although Mr. Page resided in the parish until his death, and occasionally preached, he was never ordained as pastor. From 1762 to 1767, several persons were employed to officiate in the pulpit;—to wit: in 1768 Zabdiel Adams—in 1764, John Wyeth—1764 Ebenezer Champney, each of whom was invited to settle upon a salary of £66 13s 4d, and a settlement of £53 6s. 8d.; neither however accepted. In 1765 a church, consisting of Joshua Philbrook and six others, was organized here by Rev. Mr. Miller, of Brunswick, and had the sacrament of the Lord's supper administered to them once, but very soon, doubts arising relative to the manner of their organization as a church, they gave up the connexion.

In 1773, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Bigelow, and Mr. Aaron Kinney were employed as preachers, but neither was invited to settle. The two different sects into which the people of the parish were nearly equally divided, would in those days have been denominated Arminians and Hopkintonians. To the latter sect belonged Mr. Kinney. The ministers who have been named as officiating here prior to them, were of the other school. In 1767, Rev. Francis Winter was ordained as pastor of the second parish. A church was formed by the council that assisted in the ordination of Mr.

Winter, but it became extinct shortly after his dismission in 1787. None of its records are preserved, and the number of its communicants is not known. Mr. Winter was a man of learning, talents and eloquence. His religious principles, however, were not in unison with those of the more orthodox school, and during his twenty years ministry, he had to contend with a powerful and increasing opposition. He was settled with a salary of £66, which was afterwards increased to £80 per annum, with a settlement of £100. In 1787, by an agreement between him and the parish, his ministerial connexion with them was dissolved. He was afterwards an active magistrate in town, and took much interest in its municipal concerns as well as the political discussions of the times. He died in 1826, aged 82. From 1787 to 1792, Rev. Abraham Cummings, Rev. Otis Crosby, and Rev. John Webber, were severally employed to preach in this town. Under the ministration of Mr. Cummings and Mr. Crosby, several made a profession of religion. The rancour of the opposing sects did not abate, and in 1793 the town voted not to hire Mr. Webber any longer as a preacher. A compromise was attempted, and a committee of seven chosen to supply the pulpit, consisting of individuals of each of the opposing sects. The committee were, however, as unable to agree as their constituents had been, and no gospel minister being procured, according to the statute then in force in the Commonwealth, the minority procured an indictment to be filed against the town for this neglect.

In 1794, an individual who styled himself Benjamin Francis Fredenburg, and said he was a German by birth, but whose real name was Bela Francis Frost, came into town and offering his services as a clergyman, by his insinuating address, urbanity of manners, and apparent probity and piety, so far imposed upon the committee of the parish as to obtain employ as a preacher. Though possessed of much talent and pleasing eloquence, his levity of conduct soon aroused suspicion of his piety and real character, and when it was in contemplation to settle him here in the ministry, he was asked for some reference for a better

knowledge of his prior reputation. He referred to Rev. David Austin, of Massachusetts, with whom a correspondence was opened, that resulted in a full development of his real character, and his sudden departure from the place.

In 1775, Rev. Hugh Wallis was employed to preach on probation. His views of doctrines were in accordance with those of the Hopkintonian school. In May, a meeting of the inhabitants was called to act on the subject of giving Mr. Wallis an invitation to settle in the ministry. The question was debated with much warmth, and the proceedings were spiced with much of the acrimony of sectarian dispute. The question upon giving the invitation to settle was taken by yeas and nays, and decided in the negative. Yeas 25, Nays 26.

The friends of Mr. Wallis, not discouraged by so small a majority, applied for a call of another meeting, to be held on the 20th of July, when by a vote of 45 to 19, he was invited to settle and a salary voted for him of three hundred and ten dollars for the first year, to be increased annually until it should amount to four hundred dollars. The opposition did not quietly submit. The same afternoon they applied for a warrant for another meeting, to be held as soon as legal notice thereof could be given, to see if the town would disannul, recall and render void all the votes of July 20th, relating to the settlement of Mr. Wallis. When the time of the meeting arrived, each party had mustered its whole strength, and on the question of disannulling the former votes, there were in the affirmative 28, in the negative 41. Shortly afterwards an ecclesiastical council was convened, consisting of pastors and delegates from five churches, and finding a remnant of Mr. Winter's church, to wit: Deacon James Lemont and Mr. David Trufant, whose religious sentiments and evidence of piety were acceptable to the council, with a view of preventing any further schism in the old church, united them with thirteen others and formed a church with a new covenant and articles of faith. The next day, Dec. 9, 1794, they ordained Mr. Wallis pastor. This was the

first organization of the north church. Mr. Wallis was pious and devoted to his charge; forward to assert the distinguishing tenets of his sect, but he did not possess that power of reasoning so necessary to convince, or persuasion to convert, or affability to conciliate those parishioners, who differed with him in religious matters. His ministry though it may have been productive of spiritual good, was not so of peace to himself and the parish. The first year succeeding his settlement, the town refused by a vote of 49 to 35, to raise any salary for him, and a committee was chosen, to advise him that the peace and happiness of the towns would be promoted by a dissolution of his ministerial connexion. The opposition was actuated altogether by sectarian views, for it is found that the next year the parish committee were instructed to procure a minister, "who doth not embrace or adhere to the peculiar and distinguishing sentiments of the people, called Hopkintonians." The private character of Mr. Wallis was exemplary and unexceptionable. In 1800, by mutual consent of himself and the town, the connexion between them was dissolved, and he was dismissed from his pastoral charge by the advice of a council. After the dismission of Mr. Wallis, Mr. James Webber preached to this church and congregation in 1800. In 1801, Hezekiah May. In 1802, Nathan Waldo. This year the religious society was incorporated by the name of the Congregational Society in Bath. They built the north meeting house, in 1802; the dedication sermon was delivered by President McKeen. In 1804, the society employed Bradford Mercy, and in 1805, Samuel Robbins, as preachers. In 1806, Rev. Asa Lyman was installed pastor of the church and congregation. He was dismissed by mutual consent, by a council in 1808. November 4th, 1812, their present pastor, Rev. John W. Ellingwood, was ordained, at which time the church consisted of seventy-eight members. The number of its communicants at the present time (1833), is one hundred and ninety. During the ministry of the present pastor one hundred and seventy-six have been admitted.

The first or original parish remained without an ordained

pastor until 1805; Dec. 26th, that year, Rev. William Jenks was ordained, at which time a church was organized by the council that assisted in the ordination. This is the first parish and second Congregational Church in Bath. They erected the south meeting house, in 1805. The contract between Dr. Jenks and the parish was dissolved in 1817, and he removed hence to Boston where he now resides, being pastor of the church in Green street. From 1810 to 1812, Dr. Jenks by request of the north and south churches, had the pastoral charge of both, officiating alternately in each of their houses of worship. The latter year he was elected professor of the oriental languages in Bowdoin College, and occupied the chair of that professorship during the remainder of his connexion with the parish. His connexion with the church was not formally dissolved until Sept. 10, 1825, when Rev. Seneca White was ordained pastor of this church and society. He was dismissed by the mutual consent of himself and church, in 1830. The church and society is now destitute of a pastor.

The Baptist church and society is of more recent origin. Although there had resided in town for upwards of fifty years several individuals of this persuasion, no church was organized until 1810. Their present pastor, Rev. Silas Stearns, having been ordained at North Yarmouth in 1807, received the pastoral charge of this church Dec. 2, 1810, at which time the church consisted of ten members. The present number of its communicants is 177. Among the number of those who have been admitted into it by baptism, and who are now engaged in the ministry, we find Rev. John Wakefield, of Warren in this state, and Rev. Henry Wyer, of South Carolina. The Baptist meeting house was erected in 1816.

There was a branch of the Methodist Episcopal church in Bath in 1800. From that period until 1818, they had occasional preaching by Rev. Timothy Merritt. In 1818, Rev. John Wilkinson, who had left the travelling connection on account of feeble health, came here to reside, and by request of this church officiated as their preacher. The num-

ber of communicants was then about forty. In 1819 they applied to the New England Conference for a stated preacher, and Rev. Charles Virgin was stationed here, and their chapel erected that year. There have since, according to the usage of this church and conference, been stationed here in—

1821	Rev.	Sullivan Bray,
1822	"	Bartholomew Ottoman,
1823	"	Joseph B. White,
1824—5	"	Wilder B. Mack,
1826	"	Sullivan Bray,
1827—8	"	William B. Norris,
1829	"	John B. Husted,
1830	"	Green G. Moore,
1831	"	Justin Spaulding.

The present number of communicants is about 150.

There is in town a Universalist Society, for whom Rev. Albert A. Folsom officiates. A New Jerusalem church was organized in 1830. The latter is without a pastor.

ACCOUNT

OF AN

ANCIENT SETTLEMENT ON SHEEPSCOT RIVER,

BY THE LATE

REV. SAMUEL JOHNSON, OF ALNA.

The spot on which this settlement was made, is a point of land about a mile in length, within the bounds of the town of New Castle. When the ancestors of the present inhabitants settled in that region, the ruins were distinctly visible, and on a considerable part of the ground they remain so to the present day. I have not been able to find any distinct account of the time when this settlement was made. The spot was probably chosen on account of the facilities which it offered for taking fish, in their passage up the river. There is at this place a narrow passage in the river, where there are what may be called tide-falls, the water falling fifteen or twenty feet the one way at the flowing, and the opposite way at the ebbing of the tide. This village was situated principally, if not wholly, upon a single strait, which passed the whole length of the point of land on which it was situated.

The houses, of which the situations of about thirty may now be counted, were probably framed and comfortable. This may be inferred from the fact, that the greater part of them had cellars well stoned, and chimneys of well made bricks. Large quantities of these bricks are now to be found at a little depth below the surface, and the walls of several cellars have been taken away by the present inhabitants.

Among other buildings, there is evidence that there was a house for public worship. The foundation of stone was about forty feet square, and the building stood near to the upper part of the settlement, and was without a cellar.

All the account which I have been able to obtain of this settlement, is from Cotton Mather's history of Sir William Phipps. As many may not have access to that work, I will give an extract of that history.

"I shall now inform my reader," says Mather, "that this our Phipps was born Feb. 2d, A. D. 1650, at a despicable plantation, on the river of Kennebeck, and almost the farthest village of the eastern settlement of New England. His fruitful mother [who was alive when Mather wrote, about 1690,] had no less than twenty-six children, whereof twenty-one were sons. But equivalent to them all was William, one of the youngest." Mather says he had an unaccountable influence upon his mind, that he was born to great matters. In pursuance of these great matters, he first bound himself to a ship carpenter for four years. Having thus become master of the trade, he went to Boston, where he first learned to read and write. Then in about a year he married the widow of John Hull and daughter of Capt. Roger Spencer. Mather says, "he would frequently tell the gentlewoman, his wife, that he should yet be captain of a king's ship, and come to have the command of better men than he was now accounted himself, and that he should be owner of a fair brick house in the green lane of North Boston, and that it may be this would not be all that the providence of God would bring him to." "She entertained these passages with sufficient incredulity." After his success, however, in finding a Spanish wreck on the Bahama banks, from which he took "thirty-two tons of silver and whole bushels of rusty pieces of eight," and "vast riches of pearls and jewels," in account about "three hundred thousand pounds sterling,"* he was enabled

*Sir William received as his share in this treasure only about sixteen thousand pounds, and a present to his wife from the Duke of Albermarle of a golden cup, worth one thousand pounds.

to fulfil his own predictions, and accordingly built his house upon the green.

In Snow's history of Boston, (page 197,) I find it stated that Sir William's residence was in Charter street, at the corner of Salem street, which was then called Green Lane. The house is now occupied as an asylum for indigent boys. "It is a three story brick house, in an elevated situation, commanding a delightful view of the harbor and of the surrounding country." The upper story has I believe been added, since the house was originally built. Previous to his voyage to the Bahama bank, at about the age of twenty-four or five, Sir William "indented with several persons in Boston, to build them a ship at Sheepscot river, two or three leagues eastward of the Kennebec; where having launched the ship, he also provided a lading of lumber to bring with him. But just as the ship was hardly finished, the barbarous Indians on that river broke forth into an open and cruel war upon the English, and the inhabitants were compelled to take refuge on board the ship then finishing in the harbor." They were all carried to Boston.

This must have been in the year 1674 or 1675.[30] Tradition says, that one of the first of the present race of inhabitants, was told by an Indian of great age, that he was present at the destruction of the village.

There are now occasionally found various articles, such as knives, pipes, and fragments of earthern ware and corn, which was reduced to charcoal by the fire which consumed the village. That the settlement must have been of considerable age is also evident from the number of houses, and from the fact that many at least of the cellars were well stoned, and that the chimneys were built of brick. There are also to be seen, on ground which has not been ploughed since the present settlement was made, obvious traces of corn hills. It must have required several years so to clear the land, that it would admit of being cultivated by the plough. The saw-pit that was used in the building of Sir William's ship, is still pointed out, and about two feet below the surface pieces of the planks are found.

From all these circumstances it seems evident, that this settlement, the memory of which has almost passed away, must have been made near the time of the birth of Sir William Phipps, or about the year 1650.

Yours, &c.

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

SACO, MARCH 8TH, 1831.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS,

BY WILLIAM WILLIS, ESQ.

It is hoped that the publication of this brief account of the ancient settlement on the Sheepscot river, will call further attention to the early history of this and another, probably still more ancient one, on Pemaquid river, in Bristol. It is believed that the late Gov. Kavanagh made some progress in the investigation of these localities, with a view to prepare a more full account of their origin and destruction. We hope there will be found among his papers some memoranda which will preserve the result of his labors—and that the Society will be furnished with them.

The settlement on the Sheepscot was originally called by the English, Dartmouth, or New Dartmouth, afterwards incorporated (1758) by the name of New Castle. The Indian name was Sheepscot. It was situated on a neck of land on the east side and near the falls of the river, granted by the Sagamores of the country, Robinhood and others, to John Mason, in 1652. The land is held under that title at the present day.

In 1665, the Duke of York, afterwards James II., received a grant of that section of the country from his brother Charles II. and established a government over the people who were scattered through that region. His Gov., Dongan, exercised jurisdiction from Sagadahock to Nova Scotia, and his commissioners held a court at the house of John Mason, at Sheepscot, Sept. 5, 1665. The commissioners were Henry Jocelyn, who lived at Scarborough, Robert

Jordan, who lived at Cape Elizabeth, George Monjoy, who lived at Falmouth, Wm. Dyer, who lived at Saco, Nicholas Reynolds and Thomas Gardiner, and probably some others. The following persons then lived at Sheepscot, and were probably inhabitants of the village, viz.: John Mason, Thomas Mercer, Walter Phillips, Nathaniel Draper, Christopher Dyer, Wm. Dole, Wm. James, John Tailor, John White, Wm. Marks, Robert Scott, Andrew Stalger, Moses Pike and Thomas Gent.

Only a few fragments of the records of this government have been preserved.

Capt. Silvanus Davis, who was a large landholder at various points in the eastern, and was counsellor for Sagadahock under the charter of 1690, reported to the government in 1701, that in 1675 there was no less than 156 families settled east of Sagadahock, of which 50 were at "Sheepscot town besides farms," and that there were "near 100 fishing vessels between Sagadahock and St. Georges."

The following is the copy of the deed from the Indian Sagamores to John Mason.

"January 20, 1652. Be it known unto all men by these presents, that we, Robinhood, and Dick Swash, and Jack Pudding, do hereby severally and jointly grant and make free sale unto John Mason, one neck of land lying in Sheepscot river, which bounds of the said neck is from Sheepscot falls over a cove to a parcel of pines, and from thence right over the said neck unto the head of another cove on the eastward side of the neck, and a parcel of marsh ground lying on the other side of the river southerly, which bounds is from the burnt islands, which is the northerly end of it, and from thence to a freshet called by the English the oven's mouth and all the said marsh is on the southward side of the river, with the upland joining to it; and we, the said Sagamores, Robinhood,* and Dick Swash and Jack Pudding, our heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, do hereby grant and

* Robinhood was also called Mohotiwormet, and Dick Swash, Obias. Robinhood lived at Neguaseag.

give quiet possession unto the said John Mason, his heirs, executors, administrators or assignes, with a parcel of fresh marsh lying at the head of Allen's Falls.

Witness:

NATHANIEL DRAPER,
EDWARD ROBERTS.

"Nathaniel Draper, of Sheepscot, doth acknowledge that this deed is the act of the Indians, here subscribed before me, this 15th March, 1666–67.

Per me, WALTER PHILLIPS, *Recorder.*
NICHOLAS REYNOLDS, *Justice Peace.*"

In 1700, Massachusetts appointed a committee to receive and examine the claims of all persons to lands in Maine, from which they, or their ancestors or grantors, had been driven or dispossessed during the Indian wars. Numerous claims were presented between that time and 1720, when the commission closed, of which a record is preserved in the State Department of Massachusetts. From these the following extracts and minutes are taken, showing a portion at least of the persons who probably were the occupants of the village whose ruins have been described.

"*Mary Allen*, formerly Mason, claims in behalf of herself and children by her former husband, John Mason, one neck of land," &c., describing the tract mentioned in the above deed.

In 1736, *Mary Mulford* of Easthampton, New York, conveyed to David Cargill, of New Castle, all her interest in the same neck of land, and thus describes herself in the deed: "Mary Mulford, the present wife of Elias Mulford, formerly Mary Mason, the daughter of James Mason, formerly of Easthampton aforesaid, deceased, which said James Mason was the only son and heir of John Mason, who was formerly an inhabitant of a place formerly called New Dartmouth, in the county of Cornwall." The deed is to David Cargill, a name now familiar in the same region.

"*Benjamin Tower*, heir to his father John Tower, a house

lot about two acres next the fort at said Dartmouth, being about 104 acres upland and eastward of Dyer's river and adjoining the land of John Brown, as by deed from T. Palmer, Commissioner from Col. Dongan."

Jacob Clark, in right of his wife Alice of Piscataqua, and sisters Olive and Mary, grand daughters to John Davis, claims land at Sheepscot, by virtue of an Indian deed, viz. Necodehant and Obias, (Daniel Dick Swash); instrument recorded, Jan. 19th, 1666.

Same, in same right at Sheepscot, bought of Robinhood, the plantation by said Davis on the north-west side of Wistassek bay. North into the woods, half way to Kennebec river. This was probably on the west side of the Sheepscot; George Davie had a large grant and lived on Wiscasset point.

A. Lovering, claims for himself and brother and sister, 160 acres of upland and 20 acres of marsh, on the eastward side of Dyer's river in New Dartmouth, to pay quit rent 1½ bushels of wheat every year, by patent to his father William Lovering, under Col. Dongan, Aug. 20th, 1686.

Ann Harden, for herself and children, 140 acres at New Dartmouth, on the north side of the highway that leads to the mill and 20 acres of meadow, by patent from Gov. Dongan, Aug. 17th, 1686.

Thomas Gent, claims the same land by Indian deeds. In the subsequent controversies for land in these regions, the Indian titles prevailed over the grants under the Duke of York's government; they were prior in date and followed generally by occupation.

Thomas Gent, claims a tract of land within side of the falls on the east side of Sheepscot river, bought of William James, bounded west by a little spring and thence running across the neck by the end of Mason's house, containing about 200 acres of upland and 10 acres of meadow. This deed burnt and attested by the evidence of Walter Phillips, Robert Scott, and Mary Allen. Also land at Damariscotty, upon which he built a house and lived several years, given him by his father-in-law, John Taylor.

Robert Scott, for the heirs of Nathaniel Draper, claims

several parcels bought of Jack Pudding, alias Daniel, Sagamore of Sheepscot, between the Butt falls and the great bay, over against the parting gutts, which lie between Nathaniel Draper, Thomas Mercer and the house to the river; deed dated March 6th, 1661.

Isaac Taylor, son of John Taylor, a tract on west side of Damariscotta river, in Sheepscot township, the late possession of John Taylor; of which said John was possessed upwards of fifty years.

Richard Pattishall, claims by patent from Col. Dongan, 400 acres in New Dartmouth, on the north-east side of Sheepscot river, at a place called Whichcassick.

Stephen Hussey, of Hampton, claims half a tract bought of John Tucker of Cape Newagen, of Robinhood, being near the *town* of Sheepscot, and recorded in the records of the town of Sheepscot, dated 1695.

Francis Willoughby, in right of his grandfather, Henry Bartholomew, claims a neck of land on Sheepscot river, bought of Mordecai Crafford, 1664.

John Tucker, as heir to his father John Tucker, sometime of Sheepscot river, fisherman, a tract of land sold his father in 1662 by Robinhood, viz.: all the land on the north side of Monsweag great river, up along the main river as far as Cowsegan, being as far as Thomas Cleaves' lease runs down the river, and so to run four miles due north from the main river of Cowsegan. Recorded in Sheepscot records.

(The mark of Robinhood and a blot for a seal; executed in presence of John Mason, Thomas Gent, Eliz. Gent.)

Samuel Checkley and Timothy Prout of Boston, for the heirs of Joshua Scottow, claim a tract of land on Sheepscot river, which Thomas Cleaves, a fisherman, of Cape Newagin, bought of Robinhood, Sagamore and proprietor of said river, containing four English miles more or less, bounded by the river south-east, and extending from the lowermost narrows straight to the upper narrows in breadth, and from each of them into the country, upon a north-west line four English miles, according to a deed signed by Robinhood, bearing date Dec. 28th, 1662, together with the house, &c.

as in said Thomas Cleaves' deed dated June 5th, 1666, recorded at Sheepscot, 1667. John Tucker and Andrew Way testified as to possession.*

Charles Frost of Kittery, claims land on Sheepscot river, bought of Jacob Clark, whose wife Alice was daughter of William Davie, only son of George Davie, who bought of Indian Sagamores, Dec. 21st, 1663.

Pemaquid was settled much earlier than Sheepscot. The grant from the Indians to John Brown, in 1625, extended 25 miles back from the sea, at New Harbor, and was eight miles wide on the rear line, and embraced most of Pemaquid. There were numerous other Indian titles around these, which interfered with the Kennebec Purchase on one side, and the Waldo patent on the other.

The discussion of these various titles would be very interesting. We hope that what has been said will lead to further developments in regard to the ancient sites at Pemaquid and New Castle, which have occasioned these remarks, and a more full history of the early titles.

W. W.

For some further particulars of these settlements, see Maine Hist. Coll. Vol. I. p. 12, &c.

* Joshua Scottow was a large proprietor of lands at Scarborough, where he resided several years; he died in 1698, at Boston. His executors were his sons-in-law, Maj. Thomas Savage and Capt. Samuel Checkly, of Boston. Timothy Prout, Esq., of Boston, purchased the Scottow Estate at Scarborough, including what is now called *Prout's Neck*, from Checkly, in 1728. Ed.

See Hist. Saco and Bid. p. 170.

FROM

A MANUSCRIPT ACCOUNT OF PEMAQUID.

Pemaquid harbor is bounded on the east by Pemaquid Point,* on the west by the main land of Bristol. The distance from Pemaquid Point to Fort Point, at the entrance of the inner harbor, (which can be entered without the aid of a pilot,) is about five miles. The inner harbor is about 150 feet at its entrance, and is sufficiently capacious to contain ten ships of the line; it is free from ice in winter, and has no current, except the ordinary ebb and flow of the tide. At Fort Point there is a natural quay or wharf, where a ship of heavy burthen may lie afloat at all times of the tide; this wharf is in the immediate vicinity of the Fort.

The outer harbor is large and safe. From Fort Point on the east to Grave Yard Point, northerly, the distance is about half a mile. Here was an ancient settlement, where were once paved streets, crossing each other at right angles.

The salt river extends inland about three miles to the Falls, where there is a sudden rush of fresh water from the ponds above, making a natural fall of about twelve feet, 120 feet wide. The largest of these ponds may with propriety be called a lake; its head is twenty miles inland from the Fort.

Pemaquid harbor offered great facilities for salmon and cod fishing, beaver hunting and fowling about its fresh

* The island of Monhegan is about nine miles south-east of Pemaquid Point, and in sight of it.

ponds. This tract of country abounded in a growth of tall pines, white and red oak, and other growths of white and black wood, material to the building of ships and houses. The first settlers are reported to have built here a stockade fort, and several log houses. James Phips, father of Sir William Phips, settled here about the year 1638, but afterwards removed to the banks of the Kennebec, in the town of Woolwich, where Sir William was born, Feb. 2d, 1650.[31]

The principal fort was built by Sir William Phips, when Governor of Massachusetts; in 1692, accompanied by Maj. Church, he proceeded with a force of 450 men to Pemaquid, and laid the foundations of this fort, which, in the language of an old writer, "was the finest thing in these parts of America." It was built of stone, laid in lime, of a quadrangular form, and about 800 feet in compass; embracing within its inner walls about two thirds of an acre of ground. The walls were eight feet thick at the bottom, and six feet at the ports. At the angles, eight feet below the surface of the ground, were magazines and bomb-proofs. It had eighteen ports, or embrazures for cannon, all of which were supplied with guns; six of the guns were eighteen pounders. The wall on the south, fronting the sea, was twenty-two feet in height; the great flanker, barbican or round tower, at the north-west angle, was twenty-nine feet high; on the north ten, and on the west, fronting the inner harbor, eighteen feet high. It was named Fort William Henry, and was garrisoned by about ninety men.

From 1692 to 1696, this fortress was a great check to the Indians and French. The Indians were so overawed by it, and the name of Sir William Phips, that on the 11th day of August, 1693, thirteen Indian Sagamores, from Merrimac to Bagaduce, met Sir William Phips at Fort William Henry, and entered into a solemn treaty with the English, swore allegiance to William and Mary, promised to abandon the French, to deliver up all captives, and left as hostages four Indians of distinction in the fort for the performance of the treaty. Sir William was too well acquainted with their treachery to place reliance upon their promises. Count

Frontenac, then in command at Quebec, and Count de Castine, then at Bagaduce, who had married the daughter of a Sagamore there, saw the importance of Pemaquid, and that if possible, it must be taken. At this time it was a place of trade, and contained a population of about 800, with a strong garrison. In November, 1693, Sir William Phips went to England, to answer charges made against him as Governor; before the business was concluded, he was taken sick, and on the 18th of February, 1694, he died at London, and was buried in the church of St. Mary, Woolnoth,* at the early age of 42 years.

The news of his death was sounded with trumpet tongues through the French settlement. Pemaquid was the great point now aimed at, and marked for destruction by the French, who called it the "Crevacoeur," or heart-breaker of their hopes of success, until demolished. The destruction of Pemaquid was determined on by the French and Indians, and every preparation for its execution by Frontenac and Castine made on the 6th of August, 1696. The French, having before taken the English frigate New Port, sailed into the outer harbor and moored under cover of Beaver Island, about half a mile south-west of the fort. They were furnished with two mortars, by which they were enabled to throw shells into the fort. At the same time, Castine, from Penobscot, with six hundred Indians, landed at New Harbor, on the east of the fort, two miles distant, and joined his French brethren. The fort at this time was garrisoned by 96 brave men, double armed: their captain, whose name was Chubb, of Andover, was not of stout heart. All the inhabitants retired within the walls of the fort, and the siege began in earnest both by land and sea, and was pressed by the French and Indians with so much vigor that Chubb surrendered the fort on terms; and it was given up to destruction. The lives of the soldiers and people were spared, but the fort was demolished.

*This church is in the most central part of the city. The present structure was built in 1719. Ed.

The French made no permanent stand at Pemaquid, and during Queen Anne's war it lay in ruins. In the reign of George I. and George II. it was again maintained as a garrison, and considered a strong post until the surrender of Quebec in 1759. After that, no further military movements were made there: as our settlements had advanced up our rivers, and the forts on the Kennebec, called forts Western and Halifax, with their block houses, built in 1754, superseded the necessity of garrisoning Pemaquid. This ancient place is now worth a visit from the lovers of the antiquities of our State; its beautiful harbors, islands, and natural scenery are the same. Its ruined fortress, that took in building 3,500 tons of stone, with its shattered walls, is still to be seen.

EXERTIONS OF THE O'BRIEN FAMILY,

OF MACHIAS, MAINE,

IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

CAREFULLY TAKEN DOWN FROM THE LIPS OF CAPTAIN JOHN O'BRIEN, OF BRUNSWICK FOR THE MAINE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

THE war of the American Revolution was a war of feeling; it enlisted the sympathies of the great body of the people; and hence were exhibited in so many places acts of individual and family heroism. Too often have instances of private toil, and sacrifice, and daring been forgotten, amid the eclat that has been bestowed upon events of a more public nature, and on a larger scale. But it is due to our country and to justice, to correct this neglect wherever it can be done, and to mete out to every one, whatever may have been his rank or station, the fit measure of his country's gratitude.

The following narration of the efforts of a single family, in the great cause of the American Revolution, is given by Captain John O'Brien, of Brunswick, at this time (May 1831,) eighty-one years of age. Although very aged, he is still vigorous both in body and mind; and not only professes, but appears to retain a perfect recollection of the events of his early life. It is well known, that the statements of old men in respect to the transactions of their youth may be more safely relied on, than in respect to more recent events.

At the commencement of the revolution, Captain John O'Brien lived at Machias, a town of some note in the eastern part of the state of Maine, being then about twenty-four

years of age, the third son of Morris O'Brien, who came to this country from Cork in Ireland. The feelings of the people in Machias and the vicinity, were decidedly opposed to the usurpations of the English government. In this state of excitement an indistinct and uncertain report of the battle of Lexington reached them. About the same time they received the Proclamation of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, authorizing and requiring preparations and efforts incident to a state of hostility.

Having taken the usual incipient measures of defence of that period, viz., appointing a committee of safety and erecting a liberty pole as a symbol of their resolutions, they awaited the course of events. In a few days, two merchant vessels in British employ, belonging to Captain Ichabod Jones, of Boston, arrived from Boston for the purpose of obtaining pickets and plank, to be used by the English in the defence of that city, which they then occupied and which they were anxious to hold against the attacks of the Americans. These vessels which confirmed to the people of Machias the report of the battle of Lexington, and thereby more clearly revealed the actual condition of things, were convoyed by a British armed schooner, mounting 4 four pounders and sixteen swivels. She was called the Margaritta, and was commanded by one Moore, an Irishman, a brave young man, possessed of many deserving qualities. The Captain of the Margaritta went on shore and inquired, who erected that liberty pole? He was told, it was done by order of the town of Machias. He said it must be taken down, or the town would be fired upon. A Mr. Jones being present, a merchant of Boston, but who owned a store in Machias, and had considerable weight with the people, advised Captain Moore to suspend his determination, until the people could assemble in town meeting; perhaps the town would agree to take down the liberty pole. The town met, as was proposed, and voted not to take it down. Mr. Jones, who was in considerable favor with the English Captain, persuaded him to defer the execution of his threat, until a second town meeting could be called; it being stated, that

the first was not fully attended. The second meeting was to be held on the ensuing Monday. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Machias secretly sent to Pleasant River village, (about twenty miles distant,) and also to the people of some other places in the region, to come to Machias, as they were unwilling to take down the liberty pole, and expected an attack from the Margaritta. On Sunday, Captain Moore attended religious worship at the church, opposite to which his vessel lay at a small distance. Some of the people brought their guns to meeting, but kept them concealed. John O'Brien carried his gun and hid it under a board. He observed Captain Moore when he entered the church, and took a seat directly behind him, in order to take him prisoner in case of alarm. Moore in the time of religious service looked out of a window up the river, and saw at the distance of half or three quarters of a mile men crossing the river on the logs with guns in their hands. These were the men whom the people of Machias had sent for, coming to take part in the affray. The English Captain at once realized the peril of his situation. As there were no pews in the meeting house, which was in an unfinished state, but temporary seats merely, he made his way over them as rapidly as possible to the nearest window which was open, from which he escaped. He made his way directly to the boat, and on board his vessel. The vessel after firing a few shot made sail down the river. The people followed some distance, firing small arms, but she was soon out of their reach.

An incident may be mentioned here which is exceedingly indicative of the spirit of the times, and is worthy of being recorded. The men who came from Pleasant River settlement were greatly in want of powder, having but two or three charges each. The wife of one of the party, having found a horn of powder after they were gone, followed them 20 miles through the woods (there being at that time no road) to bring it to her husband, and arrived with it the next day after the party had reached Machias.

The next day after their arrival, which was Monday, and

was the day appointed for the second town meeting, a party of volunteers took possession of a lumber sloop, and began the pursuit of the schooner. She was overtaken in the bay of Machias, at two leagues distance from the head of it, being becalmed. The sloop, which was afterwards called the Liberty, was rapidly brought up by rowing and by boats. But it is to be remembered here that this daring company, which consisted of about sixty men, were without a commander. There were six brothers on board, of the name of O'Brien, viz., Jeremiah, Gideon, John, (the third in age, the narrator of the present statement, and the only one now living,) William, Dennis, and Joseph. The father, whose name was Morris, yielded to the wishes of his sons in not going on board. Before coming up with the enemy, perhaps three miles distant, Jeremiah O'Brien was unanimously chosen captain. He gave liberty to all who were afraid to follow to leave the vessel, and three men accordingly left in the boat. He brought the sloop alongside of the schooner; but they immediately separated, it being almost calm, and John O'Brien was the only person who jumped aboard the Margaritta. As he stood on the quarter-deck, seven of the English crew discharged their guns at him, almost at the same moment. No ball pierced him. They charged upon him with their bayonets, but he saved himself by jumping over, and swimming to the American vessel, now separated to the distance of thirty yards. Jeremiah O'Brien again brought the sloop alongside; twenty persons were selected to board, armed chiefly with pitchforks. After a short contest the Margaritta was taken, with the loss of four killed and eight or nine wounded on the part of the Americans, and of about ten killed and ten wounded on the part of the British. Among the latter was Capt. Moore, who was shot through with a brace of musket balls in the early part of the action, and died the next day, much lamented. He is said to have been the first English naval officer who fell in the American Revolution.

The news of the capture of the Margaritta caused some excitement in Nova Scotia, and two schooners were fitted

out from Halifax for the purpose of retaking her: one, of eight or ten guns, called the Diligence, with fifty men; the other, called the Tapnaquish, mounting sixteen swivels, and carrying twenty men. Hardly a month had elapsed before the people of Machias heard of these vessels coming up the bay. They had the armament taken from the Margaritta, and fitted out the coasting sloop, before mentioned, which was afterwards called the Liberty, and, under the former captain, Jeremiah O'Brien, proceeded down the bay to meet them. As they were advancing with this object, they met a coaster coming in; they took possession of her, manned her with 35 men, and placed her under the orders of a militia colonel of the name of Foster. Morris O'Brien, the father, followed with a surgeon in a boat; but there was no need of his services, as both the English vessels surrendered at the first attempt at boarding them, and without making any resistance. The Diligence surrendered to O'Brien, and the Tapnaquish to Foster. Between the time of the second engagement and the preceding one with the Margaritta, the Committee of Safety of Machias sent John O'Brien to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, at Watertown, to report what had been done, and to receive directions. The Congress received the news with interest and approbation, and voted their thanks to the individuals concerned.

It should be remarked that the enterprising bearer of the communication returned in time to take a share in the defeat of the second attempt.

In about three weeks after the failure of this enterprize another expedition was fitted out from Halifax, consisting of a frigate, a twenty gun ship, a brig of sixteen guns, and several schooners, containing about a thousand men. The whole squadron having arrived, remained in the bay except the brig, which, together with some boats filled with armed men, advanced up towards the town. Three miles below the town, at Scott's Point, east side of the river, a breastwork was hastily erected by the inhabitants. There were no cannon in it; the men, who might be estimated at 150

in number, were armed with muskets. Who acted as commander, Mr. O'Brien does not recollect, as he was absent at this time from Machias, and had not a personal share in the action, but probably Jeremiah O'Brien and the Col. Benjamin Foster, above mentioned. The brig and the boats, on coming opposite the breastwork, landed a large body of men, perhaps five hundred. But they were warmly received, and soon driven back; the English losing, as was conjectured, an hundred in killed and wounded; the Americans having three killed and a number wounded. The British brig grounded, during the action, within musket shot of the shore, which was undoubtedly a cause of increased loss on her part. After this repulse, the whole armament returned to Halifax.

About six weeks after this, a third expedition from Halifax of a thousand men landed at Passamaquody with an intention to advance through the woods and attack Machias by land. The people made preparations to waylay and resist, which no doubt they would have done with success, but on the second day of their march the British, meeting with many obstacles, became discouraged and retreated.

After these transactions, the Liberty and Diligence were commissioned by the State of Massachusetts, and sent out on a cruise. Capt. Jeremiah O'Brien commanded the Liberty, having with him his brother William as Lieutenant. A Captain Lambert commanded the Diligence, with John O'Brien for first Lieutenant. Under these two commanders, these two vessels were a year and a half or more in the State's service, chiefly on the northern coast, for the purpose of affording protection to American merchant ships. After that time these two vessels were laid up. After leaving the Diligence, in which he had acted as first Lieutenant, John O'Brien, in company with a number of others, built at Newburyport an armed ship, letter of marque, called the Hannibal, mounting 20 guns. He went in her as commander to Port au Prince, in St. Domingo. After his return, the Hannibal was fitted out as a cruiser, under the command of Jeremiah O'Brien, (John not being on

board at this time,) manned with 130 men. Off New York, the Hannibal fell in with an English fleet of merchantmen, coming in under convoy. She was immediately chased by two frigates, and in 48 hours time was taken. Capt. O'Brien was detained in the famous guard-ship called the Jersey, about six months, enduring the dreadful wretchedness which was the lot of the numerous American prisoners confined on board that vessel. He was afterwards carried to Mill Prison, in England, and remained there a number of months. Designing to attempt an escape, he purposely neglected his dress and whole personal appearance for a month. The afternoon before making his escape, he shaved and dressed himself in decent clothes, so as to alter very much his personal appearance, and walked out with the other prisoners in the jail yard. Having secreted himself under a platform, and thus escaping the notice of the keepers, he was left out of the prison, after it was shut for the night. He escaped from the yard by passing through the principal keeper's house, in the dusk of the evening. Although he made a little stay in the bar room of the house, he was not detected, being taken for a British soldier. In company with a Capt. Lyon and another American, who had also escaped from the prison, and were concealed somewhere in the vicinity, he crossed the channel in a boat to France, and thence came to America. In the meanwhile Capt. John O'Brien was not inactive. The next vessel of which he found himself in the command, was the Hibernia, a fast sailer, but small, carrying only 6 three pounders. In the Hibernia he attacked, and, after some fighting, took the English armed vessel Gen. Pattison, from New York, bound for England, having on board a considerable number of officers, in addition to those of her own crew, pierced for 20 guns, and mounting 61 six and nine pounders, with six swivels, and commanded at the time by a captain Chiene. The same day he took a merchant vessel loaded with masts, and carrying 12 six pounders. Both arrived safe.

He was engaged in other enterprizes and battles, but these statements will suffice to give some idea of the efforts of this brave and patriotic family.

NOTE.—The account in the above of killed and wounded on board the Margaritta, was taken from a letter of Capt. Joseph Wheaton, recently of Washington, D. C., who was, at the time of the engagement, one of the American crew. The letter was written a few years ago to Capt. O'Brien. The latter, although present in the action, did not recollect distinctly the number, but he places full confidence in Mr. Wheaton's statement.

SHAY'S REBELLION.

LETTER FROM GEN. RUFUS PUTNAM TO GOV. BOWDOIN.

The following is a copy of an original letter from Gen. Rufus Putnam to Gov. Bowdoin. It was found among the papers of the late Hon. Jonathan Greenleaf of Newburyport, who, at the time it was received, was a Councillor of Massachusetts. It details an interesting conversation between Daniel Shay and the writer, relative to the rebellion of which Shay was the leader. W.

RUTLAND, January 8th, 1787.

SIR,—As I was coming through Pelham the other day, I met Mr. Shay in the road, alone; where we had a conversation, some of which was of a very particular kind. I shall state the whole by way of dialogue, as far as I can recollect; but in order to understand the meaning of some parts of it, it is necessary you should know that the week before they stopped Worcester Court the last time, I spent many hours with Shay and his officers, endeavoring to dissuade them from their measures, and persuade them to return to their allegiance.

Mr. Shay. Do you know if the petition drawn up at Worcester, has been sent to the Governor, or not?

Putnam. I am surprised to hear you enquire that of me; you certainly ought to know whether you have sent it, or not—however, since you ask the question, I tell you I have been credibly informed that so late as last Friday, it had not been presented.

Shay. They promised to send it immediately, and it was very wrong they did not; but I don't know that it will alter the case, for I don't suppose the Governor and Council will take any notice of it.

Putnam. You have no reason to expect they will grant the prayer of it.

Shay. Why not?

Putnam. Because many things asked for, it is out of their power to grant: and besides that, since you and your party have once spurned at offended mercy, it is absurd to expect that another general pardon should be ever granted.

Shay. No! Then we must fight it out.

Putnam. That as you please, but it's impossible you should succeed, and the event will be, that you must either run your country or hang, unless you are fortunate enough to bleed.

Shay. By God I'll never run my country.

Putnam. Why not? It's more honorable than to fight in a bad cause, and be the means of involving your country in a civil war: and that it is a bad cause, you have always owned to me: that is, you owned to me at Holden, the week before you stopped Worcester court, that it was wrong in the people ever to take up arms as they had.

Shay. So I did, and so I say now, and I told you then, and tell you now, that the sole motive with me in taking the command at Springfield, was to prevent the shedding of blood, which would absolutely have been the case, if I had not; and I am so far from considering it as a crime, that I look upon it that government are indebted to me for what I did there.

Putnam. If that was the case, how came you to pursue the matter? Why did you not stop there?

Shay. I did not pursue the matter; it was noised about that warrants were out after me, and I was determined not to be taken.

Putnam. This wont do. How came you to write letters to several towns in the county of Hampshire, to choose officers, and furnish themselves with arms and 60 rounds of ammunition?

Shay. I never did, it was a cursed falsehood.

Putnam. Somebody did in your name, which it can never be presumed was done without your approbation.

Shay. I never had any hand in the matter; it was done by a Committee, and Doctor Hunt and somebody else, who

I don't know, put my name to the copy and sent it to the Governor and Court.

Putnam. But why did you not take the benefit of the act of indemnity, as soon as it passed? but instead of that, you ordered the whole posse collected and marched as far as Shrewsbury, in order to go and stop the Court at Cambridge.

Shay. I never ordered a man to march to Shrewsbury, nor any where else, except when I lay at Rutland. I wrote to a few towns in the counties of Worcester and Hampshire. You are deceived: I never had half so much to do with the matter as you think for; and the people did not know of the act of indemnity before they collected.

Putnam. If they did not you did, for you told me at Holden, that you knew everything that passed at Court; and that when you talked with General Ward at Shrewsbury, you were able to correct him in several things which he advanced.

Shay. I could tell you—but—

Putnam. I don't wish to know any of your secrets. But why did you not go home with the Hampshire people from Holden, as you told me in the evening you would the next morning?

Shay. I can tell you, it would not have done. I have talked with Major Goodman. I told him what you said, and he gave it as his opinion, the act would not have taken us in.

Putnam. Suppose that to be the case, yet the General Court might have extended it to you; the chance in your favor was much greater before than after you had stopped Worcester Court. Why did you not petition, before you added that crime to the score?

Shay. It would have been better; but I cannot see why stopping that Court is such a crime that if I might have been pardoned before, I should be exempted now.

Putnam. When offered mercy has been once refused, and the crime repeated, Government never can with any kind of honor and safety to the community pass it over without hanging somebody; and as you are at the head

of the insurgents, and the person who directs all their movements, I cannot see you have any chance to escape.

Shay. I at their head! I am not.

Putnam. It is said you are first in command, and it is supposed they have appointed you their General.

Shay. I never had any appointment but that at Springfield, nor did I ever take command of any men but those of the county of Hampshire; no, General Putnam, you are deceived, I never had half so much to do in the matter as you think for, nor did I ever order any men to march, except when at Rutland, as I told you before.

Putnam. Did you not muster the party to go to Springfield the other day?

Shay. No,—nor had I any hand in the matter, except that I rode down in a sleigh.

Putnam. But I saw your name to the request presented to the justices,—that you won't deny?

Shay. I know it was there, and Grover put it there without my knowledge; I wan't got into Springfield when it was done,—the matter was all over before I got there, and I had no hand in it.

Putnam. But, is it a truth that you did not order the men to march to Springfield the other day?

Shay. Yes,—I was sent to and refused, and told them I would have nothing to do in the matter.

Putnam. But why?

Shay. I told them it was inconsistent after we had agreed to petition, as we did at Worcester, and promised to remain quiet and not to meddle with the courts any more, till we knew whether we could get a pardon or not.

Putnam. Have you not ordered the men to march to Worcester the 23d of this month?

Shay. No—I was sent to from Worcester county, to come down with the Hampshire men; but I told them I would not go myself nor order any men to march.

Putnam. Who has done it? Hampshire men are certainly ordered to march.

Shay. Upon my refusing to act they have chose a Committee, who have ordered the men to march.

Putnam. But how do you get along with those people, having been with them so long; how is it possible they will let you stay behind?

Shay. Well enough. I tell them that I never will have any thing more to do with stopping Courts, or any thing else, but to defend myself, till I know whether a pardon can be obtained or not.

Putnam. And what if you cannot get a pardon?

Shay. Why then I will collect all the force I can, and fight it out; and I swear so would you or any body else, rather than be hanged.

Putnam. I will ask you one question more, you may answer it or not, as you please—it is this—Had you an opportunity, would you accept of a pardon, and leave these people to themselves?

Shay. Yes—in a moment.

Putnam. Then I advise you to set off this night to Boston, and throw yourself upon the mercy and under the protection of Government.

Shay. No, that is too great a risk, unless I was first assured of a pardon.

Putnam. There is no risk in the matter, you never heard of a man, who voluntarily did this, whose submission was not accepted; and if your submission is refused, I will venture to be hanged in your room.

Shay. In the first place, I don't want you hanged, and in the next place, they would not accept of you.

The only observation I shall make is, that I fully believe he may be brought off, and no doubt he is able to inform Government more of the bottom of this plot than they know at present.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your Ex'y's
most obed't and humble servant,
RUFUS PUTNAM.

GOV. BOWDOIN.

NOTICE

OF

THE LATE WILLIAM LADD.

BY

WILLIAM WILLIS, ESQ.

MR. LADD, to whom the Society is indebted for the history of Bakerstown, &c., contained in this volume, died universally respected and lamented, in 1841. He was a native of Portsmouth, N. H., and graduated at Harvard College with distinction, in 1797. After leaving College, he became a successful merchant and ship master; in which employments, he accumulated an independent property, and retired to a farm in Minot, in this state, where he not only cultivated the arts of peace, but devoted himself with vast energy and power to the propagation of its doctrines.

He improved every available medium for the dissemination of his views—he poured his essays with unwearied rapidity into the columns of newspapers, travelled throughout the country, delivering lectures wherever he could collect an audience, and beginning at the very sources of opinion, he published numerous books for the use of children, to counteract the military spirit, which in that day almost universally prevailed in the community. "The Sword," "The French Soldier," and "The Hero of Macedon," were three of those smaller works intended to purify the fountain at its source.

His essays published in newspapers were afterwards collected in volumes and republished by the Peace Society; the second of which appeared as early as 1827. But his

most labored single effort was "An Essay on a Congress of Nations, for the adjustment of international disputes, without a resort to arms," which occupied one hundred and thirty pages of a large octavo volume, containing more than seven hundred pages, published by the American Peace Society, in 1840; to which volume he also added an appendix of sixty-two pages. This was only the year before his death, and was his last great effort, although he continued to write for the newspapers while he could hold a pen, which was to nearly the last day of his earthly existence.

He was a man of ardent and sanguine temperament, and of indomitable courage and perseverance; while at the same time his spirit was so calm and self poised, that no sneer, or sarcasm, or bitter reproach, could for a moment ruffle it, and no opposition could disturb, or divert it from the settled course of duty and philanthropy which he had prescribed to himself. He entered on his mission with an entire conviction of its importance and of its embarrassments, and with an earnest zeal for its accomplishment. Opposition he expected, and was not unprepared for it. He encountered every difficulty and met every emergency with the resources of a skilful strategist, and with a boldness that knew no fear, and an energy that never was weary. He died in the midst of his labors and his efforts, at a period when he thought that the absorbing sentiments of his heart were becoming more and more deeply imprinted on the opinions and practices of the world.

DEED

FROM

FERDINANDO GORGES, ESQ. TO JOHN USHER,

OF THE

PROVINCE OF MAINE,

MARCH 13TH, 1678.

NOTE.—This document is, on its face, an absolute conveyance to John Usher, agent of Massachusetts, who afterwards executed another deed of the same premises to that colony. Neither of these documents has been printed before within our knowledge. The date is in the old style, corresponding by the present computation to the year 1678. ED.

THIS INDENTURE, made the thirteenth day of March, in the thirtieth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, Charles the Second, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c. Anno Domini, 1677, between Ferdinando Gorges, of Clewer, in the county of Berks,* in the kingdom of England, Esq., son and heir of John Gorges, late of the city of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, Esq., deceased, who was son and heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, late of Aston Phillips, in the county of Somerset, knight, of the one part, and John Usher, of Boston, in New England in America, Merchant, of the other part, WITNESSETH :—

That the said Ferdinando Gorges, for and in consideration of the sum of one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds of lawful English money, to him, the said Ferdinando Gorges, in hand well and truly paid by the said John Usher, at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents ; the receipt whereof the said Ferdinando Gorges doth hereby acknowledge, and thereof, and of every part thereof, doth absolutely acquit, discharge and release the said John Usher, his heirs, executors and administrators, and every of them, by these presents hath granted, bargained and sold, and by these presents doth grant, bargain and sell unto the said John Usher and his heirs, all that county Palatine, part, purporty or portion of the main land of New England aforesaid, called or known by the name of the Province or county of Maine, beginning at the entrance of Piscataway harbor, and so to pass up the same into the river of Newichewannock, and through the same unto the furthest head thereof, and from thence northwestward, till one hundred and twenty miles be finished : and from

* "Clewer, of Cleworth, in the hundred of Ripplesmere, and deanery of Reading, is situated on the banks of the Thames. The village lies about a mile west of Windsor, but the parish extends into that town, and comprises a considerable part of it." *Lysons' Magna Britannia.* Art. BERKSHIRE.

Piscataway harbor mouth aforesaid, northeastward along the sea coast to Sagadahock, and up the river thereof to Kynybequy river, and through the same unto the head thereof: and into the land northwestward until one hundred and twenty miles be ended; being accompted from the mouth of Sagadahock, and from the period of one hundred and twenty miles aforesaid, to cross overland to the one hundred and twenty miles end, formerly reckoned, up into the land from Piscataway harbor through the Newichewannock river, and also the north half of the Isles of Shoales, together with the Isles of Capawocke and Nawtican, near Cape Cod: as also all the islands and islets lying within five leagues of the Maine, all along the aforesaid coasts, between the aforesaid rivers of Piscataway and Sagadahock; and all lands, grounds, places, soils, woods, waters, rivers, lakes, ports, havens, creeks and harbors, to the said Province, limits and premises, or any part thereof, belonging, or in any wise appertaining, or accepted, or being part, parcel, or member thereof; and also, all and singular, royalties, fishings royal, and other minerals, mines of gold and silver, or other metal or mineral whatsoever, waifes, estrayes, pyrates goods, deodands, fines, amerciaments, wrecks, treasure trove, goods and chattels of felons, and felons themselves, jura regalia, powers, rights, jurisdictions, ecclesiastical, civil, admiral and military privileges, prerogatives, governments, liberties, annuities, franchises, authorities, profits, preheminences and hereditaments whatsoever, with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances, happening, growing, arising, or accruing, or to be exercised, extended or enjoyed within the said Province, limits, coasts, or other the premises, or any part thereof; and also all other the lands, tenements, jura regalia, powers, franchises, jurisdictions, royalties, governments, privileges and hereditaments whatsoever granted or mentioned or intended to be granted unto the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his heirs and assigns, by letters patent under the great seal of England, bearing date the third day of April, in the fifteenth year of the reign of our late sovereign lord, King Charles the First, or by any other letters patent, charters, deeds or conveyances whatsoever; and also, all other the lands, tenements, royalties, jurisdictions, governments, franchises and hereditaments whatsoever, of him, the said Ferdinando Gorges, situate lying and being, or happening, arising or accruing, or to be exercised or enjoyed within New England aforesaid, or elsewhere in America aforesaid, and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issues, services and profits of all and singular the premises, and every part and parcel thereof; and all the estate, title, interest, equity, trust, claim and demand whatsoever of him, the said Ferdinando Gorges, of, in, and unto the premises, and every part and parcel thereof.

To have and to hold the said county Palatine, lands, tenements, jurisdictions, governments, franchises, hereditaments and premises herein before expressed, and intended to be hereby granted, bargained, sold and conveyed, and every part and parcel thereof, with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances, unto the said John Usher, his heirs and assigns, to the only use and behoof of the said John Usher, his heirs and assigns forever; and the said Ferdinando Gorges, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators and every of them, doth covenant, promise and grant to and with the said John Usher, his heirs and assigns, by these presents, that he, the said Ferdinando Gorges, (notwithstanding any act, matter, or thing by him, the said Ferdinando Gorges, or the said

John Gorges, his late father deceased, or the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges, done, executed or suffered, to the contrary,) now is and standeth seized of an absolute, perfect and indefeasible estate of inheritance, in fee simple, of and in the said county Palatine, lands, tenements, jurisdictions, governments, franchises, hereditaments and premises hereby granted and conveyed, or mentioned or intended to be hereby granted or conveyed, and every part and parcel thereof, with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances, without any manner of condition, restraint, contingency, limitation or power of revocation, to alter, change, clog, evict or determine the same: And also, that the said Ferdinando Gorges, for and notwithstanding any act or thing as aforesaid, now hath full power, true title, real interest, and absolute authority to grant and convey the said county Palatine, lands, tenements, jurisdictions, governments, franchises, hereditaments and premises, and every part and parcel thereof, with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances, unto the said John Usher, his heirs and assigns, as in and by these presents is mentioned and expressed: and further, that the said county Palatine, lands, tenements, jurisdictions, governments, franchises, hereditaments and premises hereby conveyed or mentioned and expressed, to be hereby conveyed at the time of sealing and delivery of these premises, are, and so at all times hereafter shall remain, continue and be to the said John Usher, his heirs and assigns, free and clear, and freely and clearly acquitted, discharged and indemnified, or otherwise sufficiently and effectually saved harmless of and from all manner of former and other gifts, grants, bargains, sales, wills, entails, mortgages, rents, charges, arrearages of rents, fines, amerciaments, statutes, recognizances, judgments, debts and accompts, to the King's Majesty, intrusions, seizures, extents and executions, and of and from all and singular other charges, estates, titles, troubles, incumbrances and demands whatsoever, had, made, committed, procured, occasioned, done or suffered by the said Ferdinando Gorges, or by the said John Gorges, late father of the said Ferdinando Gorges, or by the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges, or by any other person or persons whatsoever, claiming by, from or under him, them, either or any of them, except all leases, grants and conveyances of any lands, parcel of the premises, bona fide made by the said John Gorges, deceased, or by the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in order to the planting of the same Province, upon which is reserved respectively some acknowledgment, rent, duty or service, and also except one indenture of grant and confirmation made by the said Ferdinando Gorges unto one Nathaniel Phillips, of parcel of the premises, bearing date the sixth day of May, in the two and twentieth year of his now majesty's reign, and to the heirs of the said Phillips; and the said Ferdinando Gorges, for himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, doth covenant, promise and grant to and with the said John Usher, his heirs and assigns, by these presents, that he the said Ferdinando Gorges, his heirs and assigns, and all and every other person and persons lawfully having, claiming or deriving any manner of estate, right, title, interest, equity, trust, or demand whatsoever, of, in or to the said county Palatine, lands, tenements, jurisdictions, governments, franchises, hereditaments and premises hereby conveyed or mentioned, or intended to be hereby conveyed, and every part and parcel thereof, with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances, by, from or under him, the said Ferdinando Gorges, or John Gorges, deceased, or by, from or under the said

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, either or any of them, (except as before excepted,) shall and will from time to time, and at all times hereafter, during the space of seven years next ensuing the date of these presents upon the reasonable request, and at the cost and charges in the law, of the said John Usher, his heirs or assigns, make, suffer, perfect and execute, or cause and procure to be made, suffered, perfected and executed, all and every such further and other lawful and reasonable act and acts, thing and things, device and devices, conveyances and assurances in the law whatsoever, for the further, better and more absolute and effectual surety and sure making of the said county Palatine, lands, tenements, jurisdictions, governments, franchises, hereditaments and premises, with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances, unto the said John Usher, his heirs and assigns, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents; be it by fine or fines, with proclamations, recovery or recoverys, deed or deeds inrolled, the inrollment of these presents, release, confirmation or otherwise, or by all or as many ways or means whatsoever, as by the said John Usher, his heirs and assigns, or his and their counsel learned in the law, shall be reasonably devised, advised or required; so as no further or other warranty or covenant be therein contained or implied than against such person and persons respectively, who shall be so required to make the same: And so as such person and persons be not compelled or compellable to travel further for the doing thereof than the place of his or their habitation. In witness whereof the parties above named to these present indentures have interchangeably set their hands and seals the day and year first above written. FERDINANDO GORGES,

And a seal appendant.

Endorsed, sealed and delivered, with these words, (and also except one indenture of grant and confirmation made by the said Ferdinando Gorges unto one Nathaniel Phillips,* of parcel of the premises, bearing date the sixth day of May, in the two and twentieth year of his now majesty's reign, and to the heirs of the said Phillips,) interlined between the eight and thirtieth and nine and thirtieth lines of this indenture, before the insealing and delivery thereof, in the presence of us, Robert Lee, Richard Penner, John Phillips, Robert Humphreys, William Hawkins.

That this is a true copy, compared by myself, Mr. Cooke and Mr. Addington, to the best of our understanding as to the recording it in court hand the deed, word for word, with its original, the 2d April, 1683, as

Attest. EDWARD RAWSON, Sec'y.

A true copy, examined per J. WILLARD, Sec'y.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Secretary's Office, January 26, 1847.

I hereby certify the foregoing to be a copy of a deed deposited in and belonging to the Archives of this Department.

Witness the seal of the Commonwealth,

[L. S.] JOHN G. PALFREY,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

* Sullivan, *Hist. Dist. Maine*, p. 153, states that the Phillips, in whose favor this exception was made, was of Saco, and the same that made extensive purchases of lands from the Indians in the vicinity of Saco river; but this is a mistake, the latter having been William Phillips, as previously stated by the same historian, p. 152.

DEED OF THE SAME PREMISES,

FROM

JOHN USHER TO MASSACHUSETTS BAY,

MARCH 15TH, 1678.

THIS INDENTURE, made the fifteenth day of March, in y^e^ Thirtyeth year of y^e^ reign of our Sovereign Lord, Charles y^e^ Second, by y^e^ Grace of GOD, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defend^r^ of y^e^ faith, &c., Anno Domini 1677, Between JOHN USHER of Boston, in New England, in America, Merchant, of y^e^ one part, and y^e^ Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England, of y^e^ other part, WITNESSETH,—That y^e^ said John Usher, for and in consideration of y^e^ sum of *One thousand two hundred and fifty pounds* of lawfull English money, to him y^e^ said John Usher in hand well and truley paid by y^e^ s^d^ Governor, at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents, y^e^ rect. whereof y^e^ s^d^ John Usher doth hereby acknowledge, and thereof and of every part thereof, doth absolutely exhonerate, acquit and discharge y^e^ s^d^ Governor and Company and their successors by these presents, hath granted, bargained, sold, released, and confirmed, and by these presents doth grant, bargain, sell, release and confirm unto y^e^ s^d^ Governor and Company, their successors and assigns forever, all that County Pallatine, part, purporty, or portion of y^e^ Maine land of New England afores^d^, called or known by y^e^ name of y^e^ County or Province of Maine, beginning at y^e^ entrance of Piscattaqua Harbor and so to pass up y^e^ same into y^e^ river of Newichewanock, and through y^e^ same unto y^e^ furthest head thereof, and from thence north westward, till one hundred and twenty miles be finished, and from Piscattaway Harbor mouth afores^d^ northeastward along y^e^ sea coast to Sagadehock, and up y^e^ river thereof to Kenybequy river and through the same unto y^e^ head thereof, and into y^e^ land northwestward untill one hundred and twenty miles be ended, being accompted from the mouth of Sagadehock, and from y^e^ Period of one hundred and twenty miles afores^d^ to cross over land to y^e^ one hundred and twenty miles end formerly reckoned up into y^e^ land from Piscataway harbor through Newichewanock river, and also the north halfe of y^e^ Isle of Shoals together with the isle of Capeawock and Nautecan, near Cape Cod, as also all y^e^ Islands and Islets being within five Leagues of y^e^ Maine all along y^e^ aforesaid Coasts, between y^e^ afores^d^ rivers of Piscattaway and Sagadahock, and all lands, grounds, places, soyles, woods, waters, rivers,

lakes, ports, havens, Creeks and Harbors, to y^e^ s^d^ Province, Limits and premises, or any part thereof belonging, or in any wise appurtaining or accepting, or being part parcell or member thereof, and also all and singular, Royaltys, fishings, Royall and other minerals, mines of gold and silver or other metall or mineral whatsoever, waifs, estrayes, Pirates, goods, Deodands, fines, Amerciam^t s^, wrecks, Treasure Trove, goods and chattells of ffellons, and ffellons themselves, Jura Regalia, powers, rights, jurisdictions, Ecclesiastical, Civill, Admirall, and Military privileges prerogatives, Governm^t s^, Libertys, Imunitys, Ffranchises, Authoritys, profits, prehieminences, and heridam^t s^ whatsoever, with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances happening, growing, ariseing or accrueing, or to be exercised, extended or enjoyed within the s^d^ Province, Limits, coasts or other y^e^ premises or any part thereof, with all other y^e^ lands, Tenem^t s^ and hereditam^t s^, Royaltys and jurisdictions whatsoever, in New England in America, or elsewhere in America afores^d^, of Sr. Fferdinando Georges Knight, dec^d^, John Georges Esq^r^ dec^d^, and Fferdinando Georges Esq^r^, or either of them, in as full and ample a manner to all Intents, Constructions and purposes, as y^e^ same were granted and conveyed unto y^e^ s^d^ John Usher and his heirs, and y^e^ reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issues, services and profits of all and singular, y^e^ premises and Every part and parcell thereof, and all y^e^ Estate, title, Interest, Equity, trust Claime and demand whatsoever, of him y^e^ said John Usher of, in and to y^e^ premises, and every part and parcell thereof, Together with all Letters Pattents, deeds, Evidences and writings, concerning y^e^ premises, only or only any part thereof.

To have and to hold, y^e^ s^d^ County Pallatine, Lands, Tenements, Jurisdictions, Governm^t s^, ffranchises, heriditam^t s^ and premises herein before expressed, and intended to be hereby granted, bargained, sold and conveyed, and every part and parcell thereof, with their and every of their rights, members and appurc^s^ unto y^e^ s^d^ Governor, and Company, their successors and assigns, to their only use and behoofe of the said Governor and Company, their successors and assigns forever, Together with all Letters Pattents, Deeds, Evidences and writings concerning y^e^ premises, only or only any part thereof; and y^e^ s^d^ John Usher, for himsellfe, his heirs, Executors and Administrators, and every of them, doth covenant, promise and grant to and with y^e^ s^d^ Governor and Company, their Successors and Assigns, by these presents, that he y^e^ s^d^ John Usher, notwithstanding any act, matter or thing, by him y^e^ s^d^ John Usher, or any claiming by, from or under him done, executed or suffered to y^e^ contrary, now is and standeth seized of an absolute, perfect and indefeasible Estate of Inheritance in fee simple of and in y^e^ said County Pallatine, Land Tenements, Jurisdictions, Governments, ffranchises, heriditaments and premises, hereby granted and conveyed, or mentioned or intended to be hereby granted and conveyed, and every part and parcell thereoff with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances, without any manner of condition, restraint, contingency, Limitation, or power of revocation to alter, change, clogg, evict or determine y^e^ same, and also that y^e^ s^d^ John Usher, for and notwithstanding any act or thing as aforesaid now hath full power, true title, real interest, and absolute authority to grant and convey y^e^ s^d^ County Pallatine, Lands, Tenements, Jurisdictions, Governments, ffranchises, Hereditaments, and premises, and every part and parcell thereof with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances,

unto y^e^ s^d^ Governor and Company, their successors and assigns, as in and by these presents is mentioned and expressed, and further that y^e^ s^d^ County Pallatine, Lands, Tenements, Jurisdictions, Governments, ffranchises, Hereditaments and premises, hereby conveyed or mentioned, and expressed to be hereby conveyed, at y^e^ time of y^e^ sealing and Delivery of these presents, are and so at any time hereafter shall remain, continue, or be to y^e^ s^d^ Governor and Company, their successors and assigns free and clear, and freely and clearly acquitted, discharged and indemnified or otherwise sufficiently and effectually saved harmless of and from all manner of former and other gifts grants, bargains, sales, wills, entails, mortgages, rent charges, arrearages of rent, fines, amerciam^ts^, Statutes, recognizances, Judgments, Debts and Accompts, to y^e^ Kings Mag^tes^ intrusions, seizures, Extents, and Executions, and of and from all and singular other charges, estates, titles, troubles, Incumbrances and demands whatsoever, had, made, committed, procured, occasioned, done or suffered by y^e^ s^d^ John Usher, or by any other person or persons whatsoever, claiming by, from or under him or any of them, Excepting one Indenture of Lease for y^e^ premises, One thousand years, bearing date y^e^ fourteenth day of this Insta^t^ March, One thousand six hundred seventy-seven, and made or mentioned to be made between y^e^ s^d^ John Usher of y^e^ first part and Fferdinando Gorges of Clewer, in the County of Berks, Esq. of y^e^ other part, for the consideration therein mentioned. And y^e^ s^d^ John Usher, for himselfe, his heirs, Ex^rs^ and Adm^rs^ doth cov^t^ promise and grant to and with y^e^ s^d^ Govern^r^ and Company, their successors and assigns, by these presents, that y^e^ s^d^ John Usher, his heirs and assigns, and all and every other person and persons lawfully having, claiming or deriving any manner of Estate, right, Title, Interest, Equity, trust, or demand whatsoever of, in or to y^e^ s^d^ County Pallatine, Lands, Tenements, Jurisdictions, Governments, ffranchises, Hereditaments, and premises hereby conveyed or mentioned, or intended to be hereby conveyed and every part and parcell thereof, with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances by, from or under him, y^e^ s^d^ John Usher, or any claiming by, from or under him, (Except before excepted,) shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter during y^e^ space of seven years next ensuing the date of these presents, upon y^e^ reasonable request and at y^e^ cost and charges in y^e^ law of y^e^ s^d^ Governor and Company, their successors or assigns, make, suffer, perfect and execute, or cause to be made, suffered, perfected and executed, all and every such further and other Lawfull and reasonable act or acts, thing and things, devise and devises, conveyances and assurances in y^e^ Law whatsoever for y^e^ further, better, more absolute and effectual surety and sure makeing of y^e^ s^d^ County Pallatine, Lands, Tenements, Jurisdictions, Governments, ffranchises, hereditaments and premises, with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances, unto y^e^ s^d^ Governor and Company, their successors and assigns, according to y^e^ true Intent and meaning of these presents, be it by fine or fines, wills, proclamations, recovery or recoverys, deed or deeds Inrolled y^e^ Inrollment of these presents, release, confirmation or otherwise, or by all or as many ways or means whatsoever, as by y^e^ s^d^ Governor and Company, their successors and assigns, or their or any of their Councill Learned in y^e^ Law, shall be reasonably devised, advised or required, So as no further or other Warranty or Covenant be therein contained or imployed than against such person and persons respectively who shall be so

required to make y^e^ same, and so as such person and persons be not compelled or compellable to Travail farther for y^e^ Doing thereof than the place of his or their habitation. *In witness whereof* the partys above named to these present Indentures have interchangeably set their hands and seals y^e^ day and year first above written.

JOHN USHER. [L. S.]

Signed, sealed and delivered with these words, (with all other y^e^ Land, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Royaltys and Jurisdictions whatsoever, in New England in America or Elsewhere in America aforesaid, of Sr. fferdinando Gorges, Knt. deceas^d^ and John Gorges Esqr. dec^d^ and Fferdinando Gorges Esq., or either of them,) interlined between y^e^ eighteenth and nineteenth lines. And these words, together with all Letters Pattents, deeds, Evidences and writings concerning the premises, only or only any part thereof Interlined also between y^e^ Twentyeth and one and twentyeth lines of y^e^ within written Indenture, and y^e^ razure made in y^e^ seven and Thirtyeth, and eight and Thirtyeth lines thereof, between y^e^ words, or any of them and Excepting, before y^e^ Ensealing and Delivery hereof. *In presence of us,*

WILLIAM STOUGHTON,
PETER BULKELEY,
BUTLER BUGGIN,
ROBERT HUMPHREYS,
BARTH. BURTON.

Recorded in y^e^ Records in y^e^ Secretary's Office in Boston, y^e^ 12th day of December, 1718.

Pr. J. WILLARD, *Secretary.*

Recorded according to y^e^ Original, March 10th, 1718-9.

Pr. JOS. HAMMOND, *Register.* [York Co.]

Book 9th, leaves 158, 159 and 160. True copy of the original as recorded.

Attest, BENJAMIN J. HERRICK, *Register of Deeds,*

[ALFRED, Feb. 12th, 1847.] York County, Maine.

RECEIPT FOR THE PURCHASE MONEY.

KNOW all men by these presents, that I, Ferdinando Gorges, of Clewer, in the County of Berks, Esq'r., have on the day of the date of these presents, Received and had of and from John Usher, of Boston, in New England, Merchant, the sum of one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds of lawful money of England, being the consideration money mentioned to be to me in hand paid in and by certain Indentures bearing even date with these presents. And made or mentioned to be made between me, the said Ferdinando Gorges, of the one part, and the said John Usher, of the other part, the Receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, and thereof and of every part and parcel thereof, do clearly exonerate, acquit and discharge the said John Usher, his heirs, executors and administrators, and every of them by these presents. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal, this thirteenth day of March, in the thirtieth year of the Reign of our most gracious Sovereign Lord, King Charles the second, over England, &c., Annoque Dni. 1677.

FERDI. GORGES. [L. S.]

Signed and Sealed in the presence of us, Rob't Lee, Richard Fenner, John Phillips, Robert Humphreys, Wm. Hawkins. *From the Mass. Records.*

THE

OPINION OF RICHARD WEST, ESQ.,

COUNSEL OF THE BOARD OF TRADE, OF THE KING'S RIGHT TO THE WOODS IN THE PROVINCE OF MAINE.*

To the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

My Lords:

In obedience to your lordships' commands, I have perused and considered of the several papers relating to the memorial of John Bridger, Esq., Surveyor-general of his Majesty's woods in America, and I do find that the title which Mr. Elisha Cook doth, by his memorial, claim to be in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in opposition to the rights of his Majesty to all trees fit for masts, of the diameter of twenty-four inches and upwards, at twelve inches from the ground, growing within the Province of Maine, in America, is founded upon a supposed purchase of the said Province of Maine by the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, of and from the assignees of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the person to whom the said Province was originally granted from the crown.

I must beg leave to observe to your lordships, that King Charles the First did incorporate the assignees of the patent which King James the First did, in the eighteenth year of

* From Chalmers' "Opinions of Eminent Lawyers," &c. vol. i. pp. 110-115. Richard West was appointed counsel to the Board of Trade in 1718, and died Chancellor of Ireland in 1726. Ed.

his reign, grant to the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, by which charter the said king did grant unto the said corporation power to have, take, possess, acquire and purchase any lands, tenements or hereditaments, or any goods or chattels, and the same to lease, grant, demise, alien, bargain, sell, and dispose of, as other our liege people of this our realm of England, or other corporation, or body politic, of the same, may lawfully do.

In the fifteenth year of King Charles the First, the Province of Maine was granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his heirs and assigns, which Province did descend unto Ferdinando Gorges, son and heir of John Gorges, who was son and heir of the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges, which Ferdinando Gorges did, in the year 1677, in consideration of the sum of one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, give and grant all his right and title in and to the said Province unto John Usher, of Boston, merchant, his heirs and assigns, but whether it was by way of absolute sale, or way of mortgage, doth not appear; and the said John Usher did afterwards, in the year 1678, convey the same unto the said corporation, as appears by the printed journal of the House of Representatives of that Province, which was sent to me by Mr. Dummer, their agent. It may, my lords, be made a question in law, whether that corporation which was created by King Charles the First, could legally purchase the said Province of Maine, inasmuch as the clause of license does go no further than that they might purchase lands, &c., as any other corporation or body politic in England might lawfully do; and I take it to be clear law, that no corporation whatsoever in England can purchase any lands which shall inure to themselves, unless an express license for that purpose be inserted in their charter of incorporation, or otherwise. Your lordships will be pleased to observe, that this corporation is by the charter only subjected to the same laws as the corporations in England are; and that there is no license to purchase lands granted to them by express

words. I need not observe to your lordships, that nothing but express words is in law sufficient to take away the king's prerogative; but, indeed, I should not have made use of any argument of this nature, did I not think the maintaining the royal prerogative, in relation to the naval stores in America, of the utmost consequence to the kingdom; and that, therefore, any advantage in point of law ought to be taken which does not injure any private persons.

But admitting that corporation was fully enabled to purchase lands, yet that corporation is now extinguished, for the patent 4 *Caroli primi* was, in the year 1684, reversed in Chancery by a judgment upon a *scire facias*, and consequently the province which was granted to that corporation, and all lands purchased by that corporation, were revested in the crown; and, therefore, the inhabitants of New England can be no otherwise entitled unto the Province of Maine than by some new title which must have accrued unto them, subsequent to their incorporation by King William, which it is impossible ever should have been, since there is no license granted unto them to purchase lands in or by their last charter. Their last charter was granted by the late King William, in the third year of his reign, in which charter it is observable, that there is not a variation in the name of the incorporation, but in the thing itself. And so far is the old corporation from being revived, that by this charter they are not so much as erected into a corporation, or body politic, so as to be able to sue or be sued, &c., but the very terms of the charter are, that the king does erect and incorporate the several countries mentioned in the patent into one real province by the name of our Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England. It is plain to demonstration, that King William did, at the time of granting this patent, consider all the countries therein named, and particularly the Province of Maine, as vested in himself, in the right of his crown, and, therefore, he does unite and incorporate all those countries which were before several and distinct, into one real Province, and does then grant all the lands included in that province unto the in-

habitants of the province of the Massachusetts Bay, in which denomination and grant the inhabitants of the province of Maine, &c., are as much included and concerned as grantees, as the inhabitants of that part of the country, which was originally and singly known by the name of the Massachusetts Bay: all these provinces, therefore, are now to be considered as one; neither is it possible that one part of the province should be the private property of another.

It is true, that the king does grant a power unto the General Assembly of the said province, to make grants of lands, uncultivated, lying within the bounds described in and by the charter, but that grant does noways extend to one part of the province more than another, but is equal to them all; and therefore subject to the last clause in the charter, by which all trees of the before-mentioned size are reserved to the crown, and consequently the General Assembly of that province cannot make any grant of lands to private persons without their being subject to that clause of reservation.

The act of Parliament, Nono Anne, p. 387, extends no further than the reservation in the charter does, only that prerogative, which before subsisted singly on the charter, is now confirmed and established by authority of Parliament; and therefore, upon the whole matter, I am of opinion that the king is legally entitled to all trees of the prescribed size, growing in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, as it is described and bounded in the charter of King William, and particularly in the Province of Maine, excepting only those trees situated in lands which were legally granted to private persons before the charter 4 *Caroli primi* was reversed; and which I humbly certify to your lordships.

RICHARD WEST.

November 12, 1718.

HISTORY OF THE KENNEBEC PURCHASE;

OR THE PROCEEDINGS UNDER

THE GRANT TO THE COLONY OF PLYMOUTH, OF LANDS ON THE KENNEBEC.

BY ROBERT H. GARDINER, ESQ.

THE early colonization of our country exhibits such peculiar views of society, and its results have been attended with such momentous consequences to the whole civilized world, as to make it a subject of deep reflection to the philosopher and the statesman; and the development of any portion of its history cannot be wholly devoid of interest. It is proposed in the present article to give an account of the great land corporation called the Plymouth Company, which claimed the country on both sides of the Kennebec, from the ocean to the falls of Carretunk, one hundred miles from its mouth. Several attempts to settle this country had failed before it passed into the hands of the Plymouth Company, and as that Company held under the Pilgrim Fathers, it may not be irrelevant, before entering upon our subject, to take a slight retrospect of the causes which rendered the first settlements in Massachusetts and Connecticut eminently successful, while the numerous attempts to settle Maine so generally proved abortive. The principal cause must doubtless be sought in the character of the emigrants. The nature of colonization, its necessary hardships and privations, and its very remote advantages, were at that period little understood. The early adventurers were generally men bred in luxury and idleness, broken down gentlemen,

persons who inherited no patrimony or had squandered it, who aspired after wealth, but were unable or unwilling to resort to labor and economy, the only legitimate means for its attainment.

Such was the character of the first settlers on the shores of Maine. But these attempts at colonization were not confined to mere adventurers, but men of rank, fortune and distinction, and some of them of lofty sentiments and enlarged benevolence, obtained extensive grants in the Province, and spent large sums in the enterprise; but they knew nothing of the country they had acquired, or of the proper means for its improvement. They dreamt only of forming principalities and palatinates, which should, like those in Europe, give dignity and importance to their chiefs. They did not personally encounter the hardships, but sent out as settlers any whom they could induce to go, without enquiry as to their qualification, and attempted to govern a country three thousand miles distant, by laws and regulations inapplicable to its circumstances. The men sent out were actuated only by sordid motives, and possessed none of the virtues requisite for founding a great state.

Settlements undertaken by such persons could not succeed, disappointment would necessarily produce discord, and discord and idleness were followed by want and misery. The first colony of Virginia, from similar causes, narrowly escaped destruction, and but for the uncommon talents and commanding genius of Smith, who could equally overawe the suspicious savage, and control his mutinous companions, would have shared the fate of the early colonies in Maine.

Of a widely different and most peculiar character were the Puritans, who established the Colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts and Connecticut. Actuated by no ordinary motives, and sustained with the belief of the constant presence of the Supreme Being, to whose guidance they referred all their actions,—they felt themselves elevated above the common accidents of life. It is with a mixture of awe and veneration that we look back on these extraordinary men. They were indeed men of no common stamp, and have left an

impress on the character of their descendants, which neither time, nor wealth, nor luxury, have been able wholly to efface, and which may be traced in those who have migrated beyond the mountains, as in those who still occupy the paternal seats.

How different the early settlers of Maine! Whatever great schemes might be in the minds of the Patentees, the plans of the colonists were mostly confined to making fishing and hunting establishments, and were made without concert and conducted without energy; and after the lapse of a century and a half, when the other colonies had become comparatively great and powerful, the settlements in Maine had scarcely advanced beyond the sea coast. The red man was still master of our noblest rivers, and the whole number of white inhabitants was not supposed to exceed ten thousand. The settlers of Maine had to contend with savages peculiarly powerful. While the Indians of Massachusetts had been so wasted by disease as to be incapable of opposition to the progress of the Pilgrims, the natives of Maine were in full vigor, of a fierce character, and exasperated by the ill treatment they had received from transient comers to their shores, who, when occasion offered, kidnapped and sold them into slavery. The first Indian war, which broke out in 1675, continued with short intervals of peace for nearly a century; and when we consider the barbarity of all Indian wars, the injuries given and received, and recollect that revenge is the predominating trait in the Indian character, the slow colonization in Maine is not surprising. The boundaries of the patents granted by the crown were ill defined, and the patentees, so far from acting in concert and uniting their efforts to resist the savage and subdue the soil, wasted their strength in quarrelling about their respective limits. France also, between whose subjects and the colonists existed an hereditary hostility, claimed all that part of Maine which lies east of Sagadehock or Kennebec river as part of Acadie, and during the almost incessant wars between the parent states, openly attacked the English colonists, and during the short intervals of peace, almost

as effectually annoyed them by means of the Indians, over whom they had obtained an unbounded influence by a religion addressed to the senses, and upon whom they impressed the belief that the British were heretics as well as enemies. The limits of Acadie were never settled till its final surrender to the British crown at the peace of Utrecht, in 1713; but the French, even after that peace, continued to influence the Indians from Canada, till that province also yielded to the British arms. Massachusetts, perceiving that the aristocracy, and church government attempted to be established by the royal governors and proprietors in Maine, were uncongenial to the circumstances and prejudices of the colonists, availed themselves of this, and having gained over that portion of the inhabitants to their views, who preferred the firm rule of Massachusetts to the irregular government of distant patentees, asserted jurisdiction over the western part of Maine, and thwarted all the efforts of the royal governors and proprietors, till the latter were forced to sell their claims to Massachusetts and retire from the contest. These evils would of themselves have been sufficiently formidable, but they were greatly aggravated by the conflicting claims of the proprietors, which extended both to the soil and the jurisdiction.

Grants, indefinite in their limits, were made to individuals or to companies, were revoked and reissued with varying boundaries, as interest or favor could obtain them, and from carelessness or ignorance the same territory was covered by more than one grant. Many tracts were also held under Indian deeds. The Indian notions of landed property are different from ours—his ownership is not in its nature exclusive—he wants lands only for hunting and fishing, and he can sell this right to others and yet retain the same possession himself, which he had before; he did not hesitate, therefore, for the merest trifle, to grant large tracts to any one with all the formalities of English law, supposing he only gave the right of hunting and fishing on his grounds in common with himself, and he could therefore grant again each succeeding day the same land to others. The evils

arising from these deeds became so great, that an act was passed in 1701, by the General Court of Massachusetts, to prevent and make void clandestine and illegal purchases from the Indians, though it did not make void purchases made previous to this period to the eastward of Piscataqua. The English attempted a middle course, and while they maintained the paramount claim of the crown, admitted a qualified right in the native tribes, and were desirous of confirming the grants from government, by a release from the Indian of his right, and where the crown had made no grant, the title derived from the Indian was supposed perfect. These conflicting claims prevented the formation of any generally well digested plans, so essential to success, particularly in the establishment of new settlements. They could scarcely have been disentangled with the utmost calmness and judgment in times of perfect quietness, and they have continued subjects of litigation till within our own day, the last having for years baffled the courts of law, till at length the knot which could not be untied was cut a short time before the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, and the parent state quieted the settlers in their lands, and themselves compensated the proprietors for their claims.

It is not easy to comprehend why the attempts to colonize Maine were so perseveringly continued, when the difficulties were so great, and why the early settlers should not have abandoned abodes which promised so small a return to their labor, and which could not be maintained without constant vigilance against an insidious foe. They could not place their head upon their pillow at night, without fearing that before morning their houses might be burnt, their families taken captive, and themselves scalped or murdered. They fled neither from temporal or spiritual tyranny—they were supported by no visions of the great and powerful state they were founding. They were men of ordinary minds and common motives, but they lived in an age of romance, when the nursery tales of wonder had been more than realized by the Spaniards in Mexico and South America.

Adventurers were continually returning home laden with wealth, from regions where they said the curse originally pronounced upon man for his disobedience, did not extend—where the luxuriant soil produced without culture the richest products of nature, and where gold and the precious stones might be gathered without labor. They thus gratified the love of the marvellous, by adding to their real adventures stories which could not in any other age have gained a moment's credence. Nor were these tales supposed to apply only to portions of America, but to be applicable to the whole new world; and in the various grants of the country, reservations were made of the whole or fixed portions of all the mines and minerals that should be discovered. Even in this matter of fact age, when the dreams of romance have passed away, numbers of our own citizens are going from the rich vallies of the west and the free government of their choice, over the Rocky Mountains, to found new settlements in the less favored regions of Oregon. In this great lottery of life the blanks are forgotten, and the prizes only kept in view, and each adventurer, notwithstanding the experience of multitudes to the contrary, still expects that his present privations will be amply compensated by future wealth and consequence. Can it be the love of adventure only that leads the pioneer of civilization, to leave his kindred, the village church and school, the comforts and conveniences of society, to lay in the distant wilderness the foundation of future Commonwealths? or does it not rather arise from some mysterious instinct implanted by the all-wise disposer of the hearts of men, in the minds of that race best adapted to the purpose?

In 1620, at the very moment that the Pilgrims were wending their way on the ocean towards their destined land, King James the first made a grant to the Council established at Devon in England, of New England, being all the country from the 40th to the 48th degree of north latitude, or from New Jersey to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans; but it was not till nine years afterwards, that the Pilgrims

obtained from the Council a grant of the soil where they had settled, called the Colony of New Plymouth, now forming a part of Massachusetts, but still known as the Old Colony. At the same time, the same Council made a grant to Wm. Bradford and his associates, who were themselves of the Pilgrims, "of all that tract of land lying in and between and extending itself from the utmost limits of the Cobbossee Contee, which adjoineth to the River Kennebec, towards the Western Ocean, and a place called the falls of Nequamkike, and the space of fifteen miles on each side of the said River Kennebec;" (what place was intended by the falls of Nequamkike, is not known to this day,) and under this grant the Plymouth Company claimed the mouth of Kennebec River. In 1640, Bradford and his associates surrendered this grant on the Kennebec to all the freemen of the Colony of New Plymouth. This tract was valuable for its facilities for trade with the natives, and on account of its salmon, sturgeon, and shad fisheries, to all which the Plymouth Colony claimed the exclusive right, and on account of which they seem alone to have regarded it, never making any vigorous attempt to settle it themselves, but treating it only as a possession from which revenue was to be derived. In 1648, and again five years afterwards, the Colony obtained Indian deeds of the land extending from Cushnoc, now Augusta, to Wesserumkike or Wesserunsett, where the northern limits of the Patent were finally fixed, and which is a stream emptying into the Kennebec a short distance below the village of Norridgwock. They built three forts and sent magistrates into the territory, but they were themselves too feeble, not numbering over three hundred souls, to govern and protect a distant Colony. Difficulties encountered them on every side. The monopoly of trade and fishing which they had established, and which they would not permit to be interfered with, was extremely unpopular, particular as monopolies in the parent country were rapidly falling before the advancing spirit of freedom. Unable to continue the trade themselves, and unwilling to relinquish its profits, they leased it in 1640, still retaining

jurisdiction by the appointment of magistrates to reside within the territory. These leases were usually for five years, and before the expiration of the last, they became tired of the vexation which this property had given them, and in 1661, sold to Antipas Boies, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle, and John Winslow, for the sum of £400 sterling, their whole right to the Patent, with the additions which had been made to it by purchases from the Indians. These persons and their heirs held it for nearly a century, without taking any efficient means for its settlement, but like their predecessors viewed it only as a place for fishing and trading with the natives. In 1749, they began to think of selling their lands, and in September of that year, a meeting of the proprietors was called, and new proprietors were admitted; but it was not till four years afterwards, that Massachusetts passed the act, permitting persons holding lands in common and undivided to act as a corporation. In June, 1753, under this act, a corporation was formed by the name of the Proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase from the late Colony of New Plymouth, which continued to be their legal title, though they are commonly known by the name of the Plymouth Company. At the time of this incorporation, their claims were very extensive under the purchase, and extended from Casco bay to Pemaquid, and from the ocean to Carratunk Falls. Four adjoining companies claimed, however, large portions of this territory, whose claims, after tedious litigation, were finally settled, either by compromise or reference. The controversy with Clarke and Lake was the first settled. They claimed under Indian deeds, and after sundry law suits and references, it was decided in 1758, that on the east side of Kennebec River, the north line of the present town of Woolwich should be the south boundary of the Plymouth patent, and the north line of Clarke and Lake. The second claim was of the Wiscasset Company, also under Indian deeds, and was finally settled by compromise in 1762, the boundary line between them being fixed at half way between the Sheepscot and Kennebec Rivers from Monsweag bay to the upper narrows in Sheepscot

river. The third settlement was with the Pejepscut proprietors, who had obtained formal recognition of their titles by a charter from William and Mary, and by the Massachusetts legislature in 1715, and again in 1726; but a clause was inserted in the Massachusetts confirmations, "saving all other interest that may be found therein." This compromise was arranged after much difficulty in 1758, but was not finally completed till some years later, when in 1766 the Pejepscut Company released to the Plymouth Company the lands between New Meadows and Kennebec rivers, comprising the present towns of Phippsburg and Bath, and determined the line between them as the south line of the Plymouth Company, to run from the mouth of Cathance River, W. N. W. and the west line to be fifteen miles from Kennebec River, but it was another half century before the meaning of the expression "fifteen miles from Kennebec River," which was to be the west line of the Plymouth Company and the east line of the Pejepscut, was finally settled—the Courts after a tedious suit determined that it should not be a line parallel to Kennebec River, but a line every where fifteen miles distant from any part of the river. The fourth settlement was in 1763 with the Pemaquid proprietors, holding under a grant from the Plymouth Colony.

The Patent as thus established extended from Merrymeeting bay to Norridgwock, and was about thirty-one miles in width, with the Kennebec in the centre, and included Bath and Phippsburg below this line on the west of Kennebec River. The meetings of the Company continued regularly from 1749 till they were finally closed in 1816. Very strong prejudices existed against the Plymouth Company for many years previous to its dissolution—some of the proprietors were men of fortune who invested their money in the purchase as a good speculation, and without intending to give themselves any trouble about its management; others, being tories at the period of the revolution, abandoned their country and never again returned to it. The portions therefore of the lands which these persons had received in severalty

were wholly neglected—purchases could not be made, for there was nobody to sell—the best settlers would only go where they could obtain a title to the soil. These lands were therefore taken up by men of no property and little industry, who were generally unwilling to make permanent improvements on soil to which they had no title, and from which they could be ejected at any moment.

A heavy responsibility rests upon the person upon whom devolves the duty of fostering the settler in his first efforts to subdue the wilderness—where lands are held in large patents or proprietories, the individual settler must mainly depend upon the Corporation for the establishment of roads, schools, places of worship and those other essentials to the prosperity of a civilized community—property beyond what a man has obtained by his own hands, is altogether a creature of law, and is designed for the general benefit, and the laws of our country as well as of others allow the owner to be deprived of this property against his consent upon an equivalent granted, when it becomes necessary for the public convenience. Any man therefore who keeps back from cultivation the soil necessary for the welfare of the community, acts in dereliction of the principles upon which the tenure of property is founded, and has no reason to complain if by betterment laws or other enactments his negligence should be punished by a practical forfeiture of his rights.

Without therefore attempting to justify the individual proprietors, we would show that the the efforts of the Plymouth Company for a quarter of a century after its formation, were judicious and unremitting, and that they spared neither labor nor expense to promote the prosperity of the settlement, and that it is owing to their exertions that the County of Kennebec has held so distinguished a place in the State. I am not able to find the record of any attempt to settle this tract before the year 1749, although there were settlements at Bath and Georgetown previously, and the fishing and trading places above were kept up.

In 1676, Alexander Brown was killed at his house at Kerdoormeorp, about six miles above Swan Island, and on

a map dated in 1720, there is a house drawn and a clearance, delineated on the west side of Kennebec River, a little above Nahumkeag Island, and marked "fishing establishment." In 1676 the Indians destroyed all the settlements above Swan Island. From depositions preserved in the Company's records it appears, that in 1728 there was only one family remaining at Long Reach, now Bath, and that all the country from Dameriscotta Mills to the ocean was a wilderness, and in 1749, there were but two families above the Chops of Merrymeeting Bay; all the rest had been driven off by the Indians. Fort Richmond[32] was built in *1750, and after 1751 Settlers began to move in. In 1754, Fort Western was built at Augusta, and in 1755, Fort Halifax at Winslow.

Among the new proprietors at the organization of the Company, was Dr. Sylvester Gardiner—he must have inspired great confidence in his judgment and discretion, for he was almost immediately made perpetual moderator[33] of all their meetings, and from that period till the American Revolution he devised all their plans and directed all their measures, and expended large sums from his own private fortune to forward the settlements in Kennebec, and to his enlarged views, indefatigable exertions and liberal mind, may be attributed those plans, which so rapidly advanced the prosperity of the Patent. As evidence of the vigorous measures adopted, it may be mentioned that in eleven years from the time Dr. Gardiner assumed the management of the Company's concerns, £5000 were assessed on the shares of the Company, which was expended in promoting the prosperity of the Patent. In 1761, they erected the County buildings for the County of Lincoln, at Pownalboro, now Dresden, and the Court House then erected is still standing on the east side of the Kennebec, about two miles above Swan Island. The difficulty of obtaining settlers at this period when the expectation of realizing sudden wealth by emigration had subsided, where no inducement was offered to emigrants beyond the grant of a fruitful soil requiring

* This is probably the date of the building of Fort Richmond, but I am not quite certain of it.

patient labor before it would yield its slow returns, can hardly now be realized. Europe did not then contain a large surplus population to be annually provided for, the sword preventing any increasing numbers. The few who were tempted to leave their friends and country to obtain a more comfortable support, were attracted to the milder climate and more stable governments of the older colonies. The early records of the Company give abundant evidence of the difficulty of obtaining settlers, and show the means adopted by the proprietors for securing them. In the year 1751 a number of Germans having arrived in Boston, the Plymouth Company as an inducement to them to settle in their Patent, offered immediately to give each family one hundred acres of land in what is now called Dresden, to pay their passages from Boston, and to advance them six months provisions, and to build a house of defence against the Indians; the only conditions they imposed upon the settlers, were that each should clear five acres of land and build a house 20 feet by 18 within three years. These offers were accepted, and the descendants of those Germans are yet to be distinguished in that neighborhood by their patronymic names.

In the following March, the Company voted to grant a tract five miles square above Cobbossee Contee River to three persons of Massachusetts, provided they would within three years introduce one hundred settlers thereon, and in October of the same year they offered John Stedman, of Rotterdam, a township on the same terms, and another to Henry Ebronfield of Frankfort, Germany, and another to Gershom Flagg. Liberal as were these grants, the persons to whom they were made, were unable to comply with the conditions, and they all fell through. In January of the year following, they voted to grant to all persons who had settled on their land without permission previous to 1749, the land on which they live, and a fortnight afterwards voted to grant to any settler petitioning for it, the lot on which he resides. At the same time, however, that they were willing to give land to every settler who ask for it, they appointed an agent to prevent persons settling on their lands with-

out their permission. One month later, February 14, 1753, the proprietors granted to Ephraim Jones and Eleazer Melvin of Concord, and Joseph Fay of Andover, Mass., 21000 acres of land, occupying the tract which is now the town of Gardiner, reserving the butts and brows necessary for erecting such mills as the proprietors shall think proper to erect, upon conditions of introducing one hundred settlers upon the usual terms of clearing five acres each, and building a house, with reservations for the ministry, and reserving to the proprietors five lots of two hundred acres each.

Butts and brows* are an expression of which I can find no explanation, and can only judge of its meaning from the way in which it is here used, where by it must have been meant the mill privileges with the land around necessary for their occupation—but so desirous were the Company at this time of getting their lands taken up, that a fortnight afterwards they modified this grant, and voted that the reservation of "butts and brows" should be understood to be reserved "on the said Rivulet which is the bounds of said grant, and which leads out of the Great Pond." The reservation must therefore have been transferred to the falls in the west part of Gardiner, where are now Cram's Mills, and the falls between the village and the upper mills been made part of the offer for introducing one hundred families. In the following March, they voted that if the said Jones, Melvin and Fay cannot complete the whole settlement, they shall have grants in proportion to the number of settlers introduced, but notwithstanding the extreme liberality of these conditions, with their subsequent favorable modifications, no settlers were introduced under them. In the same year they granted to Florentine Vassal a township, on condition of his introducing one hundred settlers in five years. This was the sixth township which was offered upon the same conditions within little more than a year, but in no instance were the grantees able to avail themselves of the offers, and the

*Brow as applied to a saw mill means the bank from which logs are rolled on to the bed of the mill.

grants became void. The proprietors now attributed their want of success to the dread of the hostile Indians, which deterred settlers from coming within their patent, and to remove this dread they chose a committee to treat with the Indians, and to satisfy them of the peaceable nature of their settlements; and in 1754 in order to give confidence to the lower settlements on the Kennebec, they voted that if the Government of Massachusetts would build a Fort at Ticonic,* that they themselves would build barracks and blockhouses. To this proposition Governor Shirley assented, by the proprietors' undertaking to build a house of hewn timber 100 feet by 32, and 11 feet high, at Cushnec, two blockhouses and two sentry boxes, and also to protect the workmen; to these terms the proprietors agreed, and the house known by the name of the Old Fort then built, is still standing on the east side of the river, a little below the bridge at Augusta, and Fort Halifax at Ticonic was completed the following year. They now lowered the conditions upon which they offered a township of land, and in 1754 granted to that distinguished advocate and revolutionary orator, James Otis, and others, a township on condition of introducing sixty settlers within five years, but this offer was equally unsuccessful with the others. Dr. Gardiner at this time perceiving the great capabilities which the Patent afforded for settlements and improvements, and feeling a strong interest in promoting its welfare, and finding all the efforts of the Company ineffectual for that purpose, determined to undertake it on his own responsibility and to commence it at his own expense. He built a large sloop, which he kept constantly running to the Kennebec in summer, and to the Sheepscot in winter, and the proprietors granting him four hundred acres of land at Eastern River, (now Dresden Village,) he immediately built houses and mills on the land, and cleared up a farm which is still in possession of one of his descendants, who yet occupies the house built by his great grandfather, and cultivates the farm cleared up by him more

*Now Winslow.

than ninety years ago. In December of the same year, the Company granted to Dr. Gardiner the falls and part of the land forming the present town of Gardiner, not as a gift, as they had offered it the year previous to strangers, but as a portion of what he would be entitled to in the future divisions of the Company, and trusting to his determined purpose, these grants were made without the usual restrictions or limitations; and so well did Dr. Gardiner fulfil the expectations of the Company, that he soon afterwards commenced and in a few years completed at Gardinerston (now Gardiner) two saw mills, a grist mill, fulling mill, potash, wharf, stores and many houses, he cleared an extensive farm; he also cleared farms and built houses at the chops near Merrymeeting Bay, at Lynde's Island, Swan Island, Dresden, Pittston and Winslow, and was at great expense in introducing settlers and furnishing them with supplies. The houses he built were mostly on the same model, two stories in front and one back, with a roof sloping from the ridge pole of the front part to the eves of the one story in the rear; the one at Swan Island is still occupied by another of his descendants. His exertions gave great stimulus to the settlements; for many years his grist mill was the only one in the country, and settlers came thirty miles with their meal bags upon their backs from the interior, or in canoes by the river to get their grist ground. September 7, 1757, the Company granted to James McCobb, three-eighth parts of all the lands lying between Winnegance Creek and the ocean, and between Kennebec River and Casco Bay, in consideration of his services in settling the tract and payment of £100, and reserving various small tracts to sundry settlers; two-eighths were afterwards granted to Benjamin Faneuil, with reservations to settlers, and one thousand acres to McCobb, and the remaining three-eighths in June, 1758, with similar reservations in favor of settlers. This was previous to the settlement with the Pejepscut proprietors, who claimed the same tract; the settlement with them confirmed to those grantees the lands between New Meadows River and the Kennebec. Grants now began to be more desirable, and in

1757 they voted to insert in all the grants of land in Frankfort a condition that the settler should be required to expend three days' labor per annum on the highway, and two days per annum on a ministerial house or meeting house for twenty years. Still the difficulty of obtaining articles of the first necessity may be judged of, by their granting one hundred acres of land to Samuel Oldham, upon the sole condition that he would make and burn one kiln of bricks for his own profit. In 1760, the proprietors commenced a new plan, which proved ultimately highly beneficial, and the effects of which may be seen to this day in the superior state of the towns in the central portion of the patent where this plan was adopted. In December of that year, they voted to lay out the vacant lands on each side of Kennebec river in three tiers: in the first tier the lots to be fifty rods wide each, by a mile in depth, every two lots to be reserved for settlers, and the third lot to be marked P on the plan for future distribution among the proprietors: the second tier was to be exclusively for the proprietors, and the third tier for the settlers. Thus five-ninths of the land and two-thirds of the front on the river were assigned to settlers, and being offered in lots to individuals, they were rapidly taken up and settled; and by this wise policy the portion remaining to the proprietors was soon of more value than the whole would have been if none had been given away. This allotment commenced on the east side of the river below Brown's Island on the north line of Pittston, and extended nearly to Sebasticook River, in Winslow. On the west side of the river, it commenced at the north line of the present town of Hallowell, and extended almost to Ticonic Falls, in Waterville. Gratified by the success of this plan, the company determined to extend it, and in May, 1763, they drew up an advertisement which was signed officially by the clerk, and which they caused to be published in various parts of America, and also in Great Britain and Ireland, stating that they would lay out three townships of land on each side of Kennebec River in lots of two hundred acres each, and would grant one lot to each family settling there-

on. This was subsequently modified, and Pond Town was laid out agreeably to this plan—every other lot being marked S for settler, and every alternate lot P for future division among the proprietors. They also offered mill privileges and larger grants to those who would erect mills. Pond Town includes the present towns of Winthrop, Readfield, and parts of Wayne. Settlers, it is true, were not attracted from Europe, but numbers came from Massachusetts, most of them young men, the sons of substantial farmers, who established themselves in these towns, and gave them an agricultural superiority, which they still retain; and in 1771, Winthrop was sufficiently populous to be incorporated into a town, and Hallowell, including Augusta, was incorporated the same year. Nov. 1774, the company gave grants to Bradford, Otis, Winslow, and others, of a tract of eighteen thousand two hundred acres, forming a large part of the present town of Winslow, being satisfied that they had complied with the conditions of the offer made six years before, by which they were to introduce fifty settlers, twenty-five of whom should have families. Of all the numerous offers made by the proprietors of townships for the introduction of settlers, this was the only one that was complied with. The plan of laying out alternate lots for settlers and for future division among the proprietors, was continued so as finally to embrace on the west side of the river, the towns of Belgrade, Mt. Vernon, Readfield, Winthrop, Sidney, Augusta, and Wayne; and on the east side of the river, Vassalborough, Harlem, now China, and parts of Winslow, Augusta, and Hallowell. These tracts were divided into lots of two hundred acres each, of which one half were marked S for settler, and any person taking up a settler's lot, and complying with the condition of clearing five acres, and building a house previous to a certain period, which was from time to time extended, became entitled to a grant. The company sent agents round at various times to ascertain what settlers had complied with the conditions, and to tender grants, upon receiving a small fee of three dollars and a half. The company's title to lands east of the Ken-

nebec and towards the lower part of the patent, being disputed by other proprietors, and the company not being able to warrant in their corporate capacity, or to sell them without warranty, Dr. Gardiner undertook this responsibility for them, which proved troublesome to himself and vexatious to his heirs. The company conveyed to him large tracts of land on each side of Sheepscot river, and he gave two bonds, each in the penal sum of £20,000 sterling, to sell and account with them for the proceeds. The revolutionary war interrupted the business, and he had no opportunity after its close to complete it before his decease. The company commenced suits on the bonds against his executors, which after being in court some years were submitted to referees, who, after deliberating seven years, decided that so far from any thing being due from Dr. Gardiner's estate to the company, that there remained a balance of more than three thousand five hundred dollars due from them to him, which they decided should be paid his heirs, and that they should reconvey to the company the fragments of lands not sold, and that the company should restore to them certain bonds from settlers taken for portions of these lands, and which were in their possession. The company also agreed to refund to the heirs nearly two thousand dollars, which they had been obliged to pay on account of these warranties.

The meetings of the company were suspended during the first year of the revolutionary war, many of the proprietors having left the country. After the first year they were resumed, and regularly continued during this trying period. They confined themselves, however, to such subjects as forced themselves upon their attention, such as settling boundaries, and adjusting various claims and rights. In 1789, the proprietors settled with the Commonwealth the boundaries between them, and relinquished to Massachusetts a tract extending twenty-four miles above Norridgewock, which they had formerly claimed and granted, and also the town of Farmington, which Reuben Colburn and others had just previously contracted with them to purchase upon very ad-

vantageous terms. This contract the State assumed. One of the conditions of this settlement was, that the Company should grant to all the settlers on the undivided parts of the Patent, who had settled thereon previous to 1784, one hundred acres of land, and that they should sell to those who had settled thereon since, at a fair price, without regard to betterments. But the enlarged views and comprehensive plans which had been formed previous to the revolution, were lost sight of, and the liberal and energetic spirit, which then directed their measures, no longer existed. They recollected only their great expenditures and deferred hopes—they became anxious to realize the fruits of their former labors, which had been great. In a memorial which they subsequently presented to the Legislature, they state that they have given away three hundred thousand acres of land, and had expended one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in promoting the settlement of the patent. It is not therefore surprising that they should be unwilling to incur fresh expenditures, or to give away more land, though I am inclined to believe, large as their donations were, that for the three hundred thousand acres, which they state in their memorial as given away, we should read, alloted to settlers, and a large portion actually granted to them. Indolence, however, had come over them, the more energetic had left them, and the remaining were advanced in years. Lands were not surveyed and offered for sale, as the advancement of the country demanded. At the close of the revolutionary war great numbers of the disbanded soldiers, unlike those of Europe, the pest and scourge of society, came into the district of Maine to seek a permanent home, and became industrious husbandmen. The Company having formerly taken such pains to extend the information of their liberal offers of land to actual settlers, many came into the patent, and selected for their abode such lots as suited them, without enquiring whether these lots were designed for settlers, or had been assigned to individual proprietors, or were yet among the unsurveyed lands of the Proprietary; and in 1799, it was found that large portions of the unlocated lands

of the Plymouth Patent, were taken up by persons who had intruded themselves without right or permission. If the Company had even at this late hour resumed their former policy, and had given to the settlers half the land, if so much had been requisite, for each to have one hundred acres, or if they had offered to sell at very low prices to actual settlers, there can be little doubt that the remaining portions would have been of more value to them than the whole proved to be; but what is of infinitely more importance than pecuniary value, peace and quietness would have been at once established, and the subsequent scenes of violence avoided. But the inattention of the Company to the multitude of settlers crowding upon their lands, was followed with more than the common evils of negligence, and the Company were soon placed in a dilemma from which they had no power to extricate themselves. As early as 1796, the squatters in Ballstown, now Jefferson, had become sufficiently numerous to act in a body, and to prevent individuals from agreeing to any measures not approved by the majority. They now attracted the attention of the Company, who sent agents to treat with them; but they advanced a doctrine that the Company in their corporate capacity had, by the general law establishing landed corporations, no power to sell for general purposes, but only when it was necessary to raise money for the purpose of paying debts; and the Company not being in debt could not at this time sell lands to any one. This opinion, though when it was subsequently brought before the highest tribunal, was not sustained, yet at the time was held by many able lawyers, and being considered by the legal advisers of the Company to be well founded, could not be answered by them. The Company found themselves equally deprived of the remaining mode of disposing of their lands, by dividing them among the proprietors; for division presupposed surveys and allotment, and the settlers would not allow surveys unless they could previously know what would be the price of their lands. Neither able to sell or divide, they applied to the Legislature for aid. They requested permission to sell to

the settlers their lots and divide the proceeds—not succeeding in this, they sent agents to obtain an acknowledgment from the settlers of their right to the soil. Such an acknowledgment would have placed the settler, with all his improvements, at the mercy of the individual proprietor, to whom his lot might chance to be drawn, and he had no means of conjecturing even when a division would take place, or the character of the person with whom he would have to deal. Under these circumstances, the Company in vain tried to induce the settlers to acknowledge their rights. The Company must have been very ignorant of human nature, if they supposed that the settlers, having by combination obtained the power of resistance, would now surrender at discretion. Failing in this, they endeavored to enforce their rights by the strong arm of the law; this excited the settlers to threatening their agents, to preventing the service of precepts, to shooting at the sheriffs, and finally to killing one of their own associates, because he consented to assist in running a line for the proprietors, and was therefore considered a traitor. Their energies, instead of being directed to the improvement of their farms and of the country, were spent in plotting against the proprietors—the growth of the country was retarded, for no man will pay much attention to cultivate a soil in which he has no permanent interest, and he who deliberately determines to resist the operation of a single law, will find his moral sense deadened, and will soon learn to view in the same light all laws that interfere with the indulgence of any of his passions. These disturbances continued till a period long subsequent to the time of which we are now speaking. It was in 1810, that Jason Chadwick, while carrying the surveyor's chain for the proprietors, was waylaid in Malta and killed by an armed party, who shot at him from the woods. All the party, with one exception, were taken and lodged in Augusta jail. The squatters raised an armed body to rescue them; the militia were called out to prevent the rescue, and a sufficient force was stationed at Augusta to overawe the squatters, who still, however, kept embodied,

disguised as Indians, and constantly threatened an attack upon the jail. The judges ordered an extra session of the Supreme court on the earliest possible day, to try the murderers; the trial lasted a fortnight, and against the strongest evidence, including that of one of the prisoners who turned states evidence, they were all acquitted, by a jury from which all the most respectable members had been withdrawn by the prisoners' right of challenge without cause. If, however, the great end of punishment is to prevent the repetition of crime, either by the criminal or by others, that end was answered as effectually by the acquittal, as it would have been by the execution of all the criminals—the majesty of the law was supported; the squatters found that they could not by their armed combinations prevent its course, and although they had now escaped the ultimate penalty of offended justice, they might at another time be made to suffer. The burden upon them, also, had been very great: they had been obliged to pay their proportion of the county expenses, their own heavy assessments for the support of their armed parties, and also the fees of their lawyers; and the business of their farms had been wholly neglected. The proprietors were also alarmed at the result. A settler had been killed for aiding their surveys, and after a solemn trial and the strongest evidence, a jury would not convict the murderers. Both parties were therefore more disposed to compromise. But we have anticipated in order to finish this part of the subject, and must return to the course pursued by the proprietors in the commencement of their troubles with the squatters. In 1802, the Company petitioned the Legislature to authorise the Governor and Council to appoint Commissioners, "who should determine the terms upon which the Company should quiet each of the settlers in possession of certain portions of land as may include their improvements, in such manner and on such terms as the commissioners may think best;" the Company in their petition refer to the precedent established by the appointment of Commissioners in the case of the Waldo Patent, in the year 1797. A resolve was passed

in conformity with this petition, which prescribed the principles upon which the Commissioners should act, and required also the consent both of the Company and of the settlers to the terms of the resolve before the Commissioners should proceed, and those settlers who did not give a written acquiescence to its terms before a fixed day were to be debarred from its benefits. By the terms prescribed the settlers were to be divided into three classes—those who had gone on to their land previously to the Revolutionary war, when the Company offered lots freely to any who would occupy and improve them—those who went on during the war, and those who had taken up their lots subsequently. The price was to be lowest to those in the first class, and highest to those in the last. The resolve closed with an earnest appeal to the settlers as friends to peace, good order and the commonwealth, to submit to the resolve. The State agreed to pay the half of the expenses which under common circumstances would have fallen to the settlers to pay. The commissioners appointed were Elijah Brigham, Thomas Dwight and Peleg Coffin, men who possessed the entire confidence of the public.

By the exertions of Mr. Charles Vaughan, the Company's agent, a large number of settlers in Malta, now Windsor, Whitefield, Palermo, Freedom, and Fairfax, now Albion, submitted to this resolve, which was executed to the satisfaction of all parties, and deeds given by the Company's agent to the settlers the following June, when they paid for their lands. The Commission was extended the following year, and in 1804, upon a petition from the Company, a new commission with similar powers was appointed. On this were Messrs. Brigham and Dwight, Foster and Kilbourn, Whitman, and most of the settlers, who had not done it previously, now submitted their lands. There were still, however, a large body in Jefferson and the south east corner of the Patent, who would come to no terms of compromise; the lands in this part of the Patent, and thence to the ocean, were claimed by several proprietories deriving their titles from the British crown, through the Council of Plymouth, and partly

under Indian deeds. The number of claimants to the same lands, and the impossibility of the settlers knowing of whom they might safely purchase, induced them to embody themselves against all proprietors. Town meetings were called, and measures openly adopted to prevent any agent of any proprietor, or any officer with a precept respecting lands, from entering the disputed territory. In this state of things the Legislature were induced, by their paternal regard for the interest of all parties, to assume to themselves the responsibility and expense of quieting the settlers and indemnifying the original claimants, by granting them an equivalent in unlocated lands of the State. They passed a resolve proposing to all claimants to relinquish their rights to the disputed lands in the towns of Jefferson, Edgecomb, New Castle, Nobleboro, Bristol, Boothbay and Waldoboro, to the State, and that the Governor and Council would appoint three disinterested persons, not inhabitants of Massachusetts or Maine, who should quiet the settlers in their lands, by giving them deeds of their lots, upon the payment of five dollars as a fee for each deed. This proposal was complied with, and all the claimants relinquished to the commonwealth their rights. The commissioners appointed were Jeremiah Smith, who had been Chief Justice and Governor of New Hampshire, Wm. H. Woodward, of the same State, and David Howell, Judge of the District Court of the United States for Rhode Island. These gentlemen awarded to the Plymouth Company a township of land six miles square among the unlocated lands of the State. The Company selected a township on the Penobscot River, which they named Sobomook, which was accordingly granted them, and which they divided subsequently among the proprietors. This commission settled the last great controversy in Maine respecting land titles—the right of every proprietor can now be readily ascertained, for there are no longer adverse claims, and the only remaining controversies respecting lands, are whether the proprietors' right to a particular lot has not become forfeited by neglect, and the settlers perfected by possession, or the trifling disputes relative to bounda-

ries of particular lots. When these great concerns were finally adjusted, the Company seriously proposed to complete the winding up of their concerns, a step which they had long contemplated. They had several times sent agents to ascertain if there were any persons entitled to grants, by the performance of settling duties, who had not received them—they appointed a committee for the same purpose, and a liberal construction was given to the terms of settlement, and grants were made wherever there were equitable claims for them, and where lots had been offered for public purposes, they were now freely granted.

A glebe lot in Dresden, which had become forfeited, and of which the company had obtained possession by suit at law, was at this time restored to its original destination, and granted to trustees for the benefit of an Episcopal Church, should one be there re-established, and if not, for the use of a settled Congregational minister. Having commenced liberally, the Company were desirous that their last acts should harmonize with the character originally established.

Having done all that seemed honorably to be required of them, they divided among the proprietors those lands which were susceptible of convenient division, and disposed of the remainder at auction in Boston; and thus terminated, in 1816, the Plymouth Company, which had been acting as a corporate body for a period of sixty-five years.

In reviewing their history and comparing their efforts to convert the wilderness into abodes adapted to civilized man with those of other Patentees, we must allow that they displayed much liberality, judgment and efficiency. Even at the period of their greatest supineness, their lands were not more covered by squatters than others, and the charge of negligence attaches more to the individual proprietors than to the corporation itself. Previous to the Revolution they had divided almost all their lands on the west side of Kennebec River, and all on the east side of the river, and within five miles of it, which were henceforth held in severalty. Of these more than a fourth were held by absentees, some of whom never returned to this country, and all of whom felt

too little interest in their property here to trouble themselves about its management. It was for a long time questioned whether these absentees had not forfeited their rights by forsaking their country in its time of greatest need, nor were their rights established till the formation of Jay's treaty in 1794; and after that treaty, the absent proprietors were in no haste to dispose of their claims to American citizens. The claim of one of the proprietors, embracing one-twenty-fourth of the whole Patent, has lain dormant almost to this time. The first grant to Florentius Vassal styles him as of London, and a suit has recently been commenced in the Court of the United States for the recovery of this very land. Only a very small fraction of the Patent was owned in Maine, and the Massachusetts proprietors became after the Revolution almost as neglectful of their property here as those who had left the country—those who did appoint agents paralysed their efforts by the very restricted nature of the powers they were entrusted with. Let us not attribute then to the Corporation the evils which principally arose from individuals, but remember that but for the exertions of the Company, at a time when single settlers could not have established themselves here, the planting of Kennebec must have been delayed at least the third of a century; and it may not be extravagant to say, that if the towns on the Kennebec had not been built, the interior country would not have been settled, and the population which now occupies the most important portion of the State, would have been scattered in other regions, and Maine would scarcely yet have acquired vigor to become independent of the Parent State.

BY-LAWS AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY-LAWS AND REGULATIONS.

ARTICLE 1. Those members of the society, who shall reside in the State of Maine, shall be denominated *Resident Members:* all others, *Corresponding Members. Resident Members* alone shall be required to contribute to the funds of the society.

ART. 2. Each resident member shall pay *three dollars* at the time of his admission, and *one dollar* annually, to create a fund for the benefit of the institution. But any member, who shall, at the time of his admission, pay the Treasurer *ten dollars*, shall be exempted from said payments. And any member shall be exempted from the annual payments, who will at any time pay the Treasurer *seven dollars*, in addition to the sums he may have before paid.

ART. 3. If any resident member shall neglect to pay his admission money for one year after being apprised of his election, the said election shall be considered void. And if any member shall neglect to pay his annual assessment for the space of two years after it becomes due, the Treasurer shall notify him of his neglect; and unless payment shall then be made, he shall no longer be considered a member of the society. Each member at his election shall be furnished with a copy of the By-Laws and Regulations of the society.

ART. 4. All elections of Officers and Members shall be made by ballot. No member shall nominate more than one candidate at the same meeting; and all nominations shall be made at a meeting previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken. Provided, nevertheless, that, at any annual meeting, at which not less than nine members are present, it shall be lawful to proceed forthwith to ballot for and elect any person member, who shall have been nominated at the same meeting, two thirds of the members present concurring in the vote to proceed to such election.

ART. 5. It shall be the duty of the President, and in his absence, of the Recording or Corresponding Secretary, to call occasional meetings of the society, on the application in writing of the Standing Committee, or any five members.

ART. 6. There shall be chosen at the annual meeting a President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, a Cabinet-keeper, a Standing Committee of five, and, whenever it shall be thought proper, a Publishing Committee.

ART. 7. For the election of members, as well as for making alterations in, or additions to the By-Laws and Regulations of the society, it shall be necessary that *nine* members be present, and that two thirds vote in the affirmative; but for the transaction of other business, *five* members shall constitute a quorum.

ART. 8. The time and place of every meeting shall be published in at least two of the newspapers of the State.

STANDING COMMITTEE.

ART. 1. The Standing Committee shall regulate all the common expenses of the society, and make the necessary purchases of such small articles as may be wanted, and shall have power to draw on the Treasurer to defray the expense.

ART. 2. They shall assist the Librarian and Cabinet-keeper, when it shall be necessary, in arranging and preserving the books, manuscripts, &c. belonging to the society.

ART. 3. They shall frequently inspect the Records, and enquire whether all the orders of the society are carried into effect with promptitude and fidelity.

ART. 4. It shall be a part of their duty to enquire for, and take judicious measures, within the means of the society, to procure books, manuscripts, and articles of curiosity, for the benefit of the Institution.

ART. 5. They shall prepare such business, as may deserve the attention of the society.

THE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

ART. 1. At every annual meeting of the society, a catalogue of the books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps, shall be laid before the society by the Librarian, and a catalogue of the curiosities by the Cabinet-keeper.

ART. 2. Once every year the Standing Committee shall report to the society respecting the state of the Library and Museum.

ART. 3. No book shall be taken from the library but with the knowledge of the Librarian, who shall make a record of the same. A member shall not have more than three books at a time without permission from the society. No member shall retain a book more than eight weeks, without leave of the Standing Committee; nor without the same leave, be permitted, after having it for this period, to return and receive it again, till after an interval of three months.

ART. 4. The Publishing Committee may make use of the library without restriction.

ART. 5. Newspapers and maps may be taken from the library only by the publishing committee.

ART. 6. Fines for not returning books according to the third article, shall be ten cents per week for every book less than an octavo; twenty cents for an octavo; thirty cents for a quarto; and forty cents for a folio.

ART. 7. All persons who take books from the library shall be answerable for any injury to the same, which shall be estimated by the Standing Committee.

ART. 8. The privilege of using the library shall be denied to those who are indebted to the society for fines or assessments, and which are of longer standing than one month, provided they have received due notice of them from the Librarian or Standing Committee.

ART. 9. All pamphlets shall be bound, and such a catalogue be kept by the Librarian, as will render it easy for any member to find any pamphlet or manuscript in the library he may wish to see.

ART. 10. Every present shall be duly acknowledged by the Standing Committee, and a particular account of it given at the next meeting after it shall have been received.

ART. 11. A printed ticket shall be pasted on the inside of the cover of each volume, signifying that it is the property of the Society, and also the name of the donor, if it is a present.

PUBLICATIONS.

Each resident member shall take and pay for the publications of the society at their cost.

DUTY OF THE PRESIDENT.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the society, shall call special meetings of the society, when the same may be necessary, and shall *ex officio* be one of the Standing Committee.

DUTY OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

The Recording Secretary shall *ex officio* be one of the Standing Committee. He shall fairly record, in a book kept for that purpose, all the votes of the Society. And he shall notify all meetings of the society agreeably to the By-Laws.

DUTY OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall receive all monies belonging to the society, and shall pay the same to the orders of the Standing Committee. He shall make and keep fair entries in a book to be kept for that purpose, of all monies received and paid by him ; and at every annual meeting shall exhibit to the society a statement of his accounts, and the funds of the society; and shall deliver the monies on hand, books of account, and other property in his custody belonging to the corporation, to his successor in office.

No person shall be eligible to the office of Treasurer for more than five years in succession, the operation of this rule to commence from Jan. 27, 1829.

RESIDENT MEMBERS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

When two towns, separated by a dash, are affixed to the name, the latter denotes the present residence, the former, that at the time of election.

Abbott John *1820	Brunswick	Brown Theodore S.	Vassalborough—Bangor
Abbott John S.	Norridgewock		
Abbott William	Castine—Bangor	* Chamberlin Mellen	Castine
Adams Joseph	Portland	Chapin Stephen *1844	Waterville
Adams Solomon	Portland—Boston	Chaplin Jeremiah *1843	Waterville
		Chessman Daniel	Hallowell
Allen Elisha H.	Bangor	Clark William	Hallowell
Allen Frederic	Gardiner	Cleaveland Parker	Brunswick
Allen Frederic H.	Bangor	Clement Jonathan	Topsham
Allen William	Brunswick—Northampton,Ms.	Cobb David *1830	Gouldsborough
		Cogswell Jonathan	Saco—New-Brunswick, N. J.
Ames Benjamin *1835	Bath		
Anderson John	Portland	Cole Joseph G.	Paris
Appleton John	Bangor	* Cony Daniel	Augusta
Appleton Nathan D.	Alfred	Crosby William G.	Belfast
Babcock Rufus	Waterville—New Bedford,Ms.	Cummings Asa	Portland
		Cummings Nathan	Portland
Batchelder John M.	Saco	Cutter Nathan	Farmington
Bailey Jeremiah	Wiscasset	Cutter William	Portland—Brooklyn, N. Y.
Balch Horatio G.	Lubec		
Barnes Phineas	Portland	Dana John W.	Fryeburg
Beckwith George C.	Portland	Dana Juda *1843	Fryeburg
Belcher Hiram	Farmington	Dane Joseph	Kennebunk
Benson Samuel P.	Winthrop	Davies Charles S.	Portland
Black John	Ellsworth	Deblois Thomas A.	Portland
Bond Thomas *1827	Hallowell	Deane John G. *1839	Ellsworth—Portland
Bourne Edward E.	Kennebunk		
Boutelle Timothy	Waterville	Deering Nathaniel	Portland
Bradbury George *1823	Portland	Downes George	Calais
Bradbury James W.	Augusta	Dummer Charles	Hallowell—Washington, D. C.
Bradley Samuel	Saco		
Bradley Samuel A. *1843	Fryeburg	Dunlap Robert P.	Brunswick
		Dwight William T.	Portland
Bridge James *1834	Augusta	Eastman Philip	Harrison
Bronson David	Anson—Augusta	Ellingwood John W.	Bath

Emerson Samuel Kennebunk
Emery Moses Saco
Emery Nicholas Portland
Emery Stephen Paris
Emmons William Hallowell
Evans George Gardiner
Everett Ebenezer Brunswick
Everett Stevens *1833 Hallowell
Fales Thomas F. Brunswick
Farley E. Wilder Thomaston
Farmer William Dresden
Farrar Samuel Bangor
Fessenden Samuel Portland
Fessenden William P. Portland
Fisher Jonathan Blue Hill
Folsom George Saco—
New York, N. Y.
Freeman Charles Limerick
Frothingham William Belfast
Fuller Henry W. *1844 Augusta
Gardiner Robert H. Gardiner
Gillett Eliphalet Hallowell
Gilman John T. Portland
Goodenow Daniel Alfred
Goodenow Robert Farmington
Goodenow William Portland
Granger Daniel T. Eastport
Greeley Allen Turner
Greene Benjamin S. *1837 Berwick
Greenleaf Jonathan Wells—
N. York, N. Y.
*Greenleaf Moses Williamsburg
Greenleaf Simon Portland—
Cambridge, Ms.
Groton Nathaniel Bath
Hasey Benjamin Topsham
Hathaway Joshua W. Ellsworth—
Bangor
Hayes David Saccarappa
Hayes William A. South Berwick
Hodgdon John Houlton
Holmes Ezekiel Winthrop
Holmes John *1843 Alfred
*How Nathaniel Waterford
Howard Joseph Portland
Hurd Carlton Fryeburg
Hyde Zina Bath
Ilsley Charles P. Portland
Ilsley Isaac Portland
Jarvis Leonard Surry
Johnson Alfred Belfast
Johnson Samuel *1837 Alna—Saco
Kavanah Edward *1844 Newcastle
Kellogg Elijah *1842 Portland
Kellogg Elijah Harpswell
Kent Edward Bangor
King William Bath
Kingsbury Sanford Gardiner—
Kingsbury
Ladd William *1841 Minot
Leland Joseph W. Saco
Libbey Joseph Portland
Lincoln Enoch *1830 Paris
Lincoln Isaac Brunswick
Lincoln Theodore Dennysville
Little Josiah S. Portland
Longfellow Henry W. Brunswick—
Cambridge, Ms.
Longfellow Stephen Portland
Loomis Harvey *1825 Bangor
*Mann Ariel Hallowell
McLellan Judah Bloomfield
McGaw Jacob Bangor
McIntyre Rufus Parsonsfield
McKeen James Topsham
McKeen John Brunswick
McKeen Joseph Brunswick
Mellen Grenville *1844 N. Yarmouth—
Portland
Mellen Prentiss *1840 Portland
Merrick John Hallowell
Moody Isaiah P. York
Mussey John Portland
Nason Reuben *1835 Gorham
Newman Samuel P. *1842 Brunswick
Nichols Ichabod Portland
Nourse Amos Hallowell—Bath
Nourse Peter *1840 Ellsworth
O'Brien John M. Brunswick
Orr Benjamin *1828 Brunswick
Otis John Hallowell
Packard Alpheus S. Brunswick
Packard Hezekiah Wiscasset—
Brunswick
Page Caleb F. Bridgton
Paine William Bangor

Palmer Ray Bath
*Parker James Gardiner
Parris Albion K. Portland—Washington, D. C.
Pattison Robert E. Waterville—Covington, Ken.
Paine Lemuel Winslow
Payson Edward *1827 Portland
Pierce George W. *1835 Portland
Pierce Josiah Gorham
Pond Enoch Bangor
*Pond Samuel M. Bucksport
Poor John A. Portland
Pomroy Swan L. Bangor
Porter Rufus K. Machias
Potter Barrett Portland
Preble Edward D. *'46 Portland
Preble William P. Portland
Preston Warren Norridgewock—Bangor
Quinby Moses Westbrook
Randall Benjamin Bath
Redington Asa Jr. Waterville—Augusta
Robinson Sylvanus W. Hallowell—Bangor
*Rose Daniel Thomaston
Rowe James S. Bangor
Ruggles John Thomaston
Russell Edward *1835 North Yarmouth
Sabine Lorenzo Eastport
Sawtelle Cullen Norridgewock
Seaver Josiah W. South Berwick
Selden Calvin Norridgewock
Severance Luther Augusta
Sewall David *1825 York
Sewall Joseph Bath
Sewall William B. Portland—Kennebunk
Shepard George Hallowell—Bangor
Shepard John H. Wiscasset—Boston, Ms.
Shepley David North Yarmouth
Shepley Ether Saco—Portland
Smith John Bangor
Smith Samuel E. Wiscasset
Smyth William Brunswick
Smith Charles Norway
Sprague Peleg Hallowell—Boston, Ms.
Stebbins Josiah *1829 Alna
Storer Seth Scarborough
Swallow George C. Brunswick
Talbot George F. East Machias
Tappan Benjamin Augusta
Tappan Benjamin Jr. Hamden
Tappan Enoch S. Augusta
Tenney John S. Norridgewock
Thacher Peter Machias
Thatcher George *1824 Biddeford
Thayer Solomon Lubec
Thurston David Winthrop
Thurston Eli Hallowell
Tilton Nathan Scarborough
Tyler Bennett Portland—E. Windsor, Con.
Upham Thomas C. Brunswick
Vaughan Benjamin *1835 Hallowell
Virgin Peter C. Rumford
Vose Richard H. Augusta
Walker Joseph Paris
Ware Ashur Portland
*Warren Ebenezer T. Hallowell
Warren Henry Palmyra—Boston, Ms.
Wells George W. *1843 Kennebunk
Weston Jonathan D. *1834 Eastport
Weston Nathan Augusta
Wheeler Amos D. Topsham
Whitman Levi Norway
Williams Daniel Augusta
Williams Reuel Augusta
Williamson William D. *1846 Bangor
Willis William Portland
Wilson John Belfast
Wingate Joshua *1843 Portland
Wood Wilmot Wiscasset
Woodhull Richard Thomaston
Woodman Jabez C. Minot
Woods Leonard Jr. Brunswick

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Bowdoin James *1834	Boston, Ms.	Jenks William	Boston, Ms.
Chandler Peleg W.	Boston, Ms.	Little Josiah	Newburyport, Ms.
Cleaveland John P.	Providence, R. I.	Pike John	Rowley, Ms.
Dearborn Henry A. S.	Roxbury, Ms.	* Ripley Eleazer W.	N. Orleans, La.
Dewhurst Henry W.	London, Eng.	Savage James	Boston, Ms.
* Farmer John	Concord, N. H.	Thornton J. W.	Boston, Ms.
Felch Alpheus	Detroit, Mich.	Tuston Septimus	Washington, D. C.
Frothingham John	Montreal, L. C.	Winthrop Thomas L.	Boston, Ms.
Hale Samuel	Somersworth, N. H. *1841		
Harris Thaddeus M. *1842	Dorchester, Ms.		

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Elected Sept. 2, 1846.

ROBERT H. GARDINER, *President.*
PARKER CLEAVELAND, *Corresponding Secretary.*
WILLIAM WILLIS, *Recording Secretary.*
JOHN MCKEEN, *Treasurer.*
ALPHEUS S. PACKARD, *Librarian and Cabinet Keeper.*

George Evans
Edward Kent
Charles S. Daveis
Josiah Pierce
James W. Bradbury
} *Standing Committee.*

William Willis
Robert P. Dunlap
Benjamin Tappan
Asa Cummings
Philip Eastman
} *Publishing Committee.*

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FROM ITS ORGANIZATION.

PRESIDENTS.

Albion K. Parris	1822.	Stephen Longfellow	1834.
William Allen	1822—1827.	Prentiss Mellen	1835—1840.
Ichabod Nichols	1828—1833.	Robert H. Gardiner	1846—

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

Edward Russell	1822.	Samuel P. Newman	1828.
Ichabod Nichols	1822—1827.	Parker Cleaveland	1829—

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

Benjamin Hasey	1822.	Asa Cummings	1835.
Benjamin Tappan	1822—1827.	Joseph McKeen	1836—1845.
Stephen Longfellow	1828—1830.	William Willis	1846—
William Willis	1831—1834.		

TREASURERS.

Prentiss Mellen	1822—1830.	William B. Sewall	1835.
Albion K. Parris	1831—1832.	John McKeen	1836—
William Willis	1833—1834.		

LIBRARIAN AND CABINET KEEPERS.

Edward Payson	1822.	Henry W. Longfellow	1834.
Parker Cleaveland	1822—1828	Alpheus S. Packard	1835—
Samuel P. Newman	1829—1833.		

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

DISCOURSE.

Page.	Line.	No.	
30	17	1	It is now known that the Popham colonists returned in the late autumn of that year.

COLLECTIONS.

20	16	2	Gorges passes over Newport's colony, the first to Virginia, sailing Dec. 19, 1606, and other voyages in support of the enterprise for the next two years. Of this expedition of 1609, seven ships reached Jamestown in August, but the ship in which were Gates and Somers was wrecked on the Bermudas, and its arrival delayed a year. Then Somers returned to the Bermudas for provisions and died there.
29	22	3	Rocroft's voyage was in 1618.
49	38	4	Substitute for this reference,—Maine Hist. Coll., Doc. Series, Vol. 4, p. 121.
189	7	5	Not a brother, but probably a nephew.
189	12	6	The landing on Stage island is an error: their chosen location was the "westerly peninsula."
190	5	7	The return of Capt. Popham's remains is wholly without historical warrant.
190	22	8	This name for Robinhood, as well as Damaze in Sullivan's History, p. 145, is not found in any known records or documents.
190	30	9	John Parker, *Junior*, purchased the tract west of the river extending from Winnegance to the present "Parker's Head," not to the sea.
190	38	10	For facts relating to James Smith, who died about 1660, see Me. Hist. Coll., 2 Ser., Vol. 1, pp. 268–271.
191	13	11	"Pot-holes," numerous in that vicinity, are now known to have been caused by glacial erosion.
191	32	12	No known records support this residence or its date. It was probably an inference from the subsequent sale. But the sale to Clarke and Lake, made in 1667, was undoubtedly on Webber's part a conveyance—one of several—of his wife's right by heirship in common with her brother, John Parker, Jr. The latter sold his Arrowsic farm in 1657.

192	3	13	This sale was to Clarke and Lake, with no intermediate agency of Spencer.
192	16	14	This town plot in ten-acre lots pertained wholly to the new settlement of 1716.
192	21	15	For the location of Hammond's Fort, formerly assigned to three different places, see "The Problem," in Maine Hist. Coll., 2 Ser., Vol. 1, p. 261—.
197	13	16	Arrowsic was assailed in 1722 : twenty-six houses were burned, not all ; three men were killed, one being shot through a port-hole of the fort ; some fifty cattle were killed. See Penhallow: Indian Wars, p. 93.
199	11	17	This tragedy of the Indian wars, occurring June 9, 1758, was a shuddering stroke upon the family of Ebenezer Preble. He was the son of Jonathan, and his home was in Woolwich, two miles up river from his father's block-house at the head of Arrowsic island. It was assailed by a band of four Indians : Mr. Preble and wife were shot down : six children, with a servant girl and lad, taken captive : the infant of six months disappeared on the way : the youth of fifteen wounded beyond recovery was also despatched : no attack on the Arrowsic fort below or on Harnden's above : no Miss Motherwell captured : (the eldest daughter did become *Mrs.* Motherwell twenty years later :) no killing of cattle : but the band skulked away with their prey as quickly as possible. Two daughters were returned after the fall of Quebec : one had been taken to France ; two sons were recovered in 1761 by their grandfather, Capt. Samuel Harnden.
200	35	18	Present evidence discredits a Plymouth fort at this place ; one alone is assured,—that at Cushnoc (Augusta).
201	13	19	John Watts married Elizabeth Butler, no relative of Maj. Clarke. Land was granted him by the owners in consideration of valuable services in promoting the settlement.
201	19	20	In 1718 Arrowsic was a thriving settlement of some thirty or more dwellings.
201	23	21	Samuel Denny came to Arrowsic in 1717.
202	5	22	Penhallow married the widow of John Watts, whose early, sudden death had occurred in 1717.
202	9	23	Georgetown was incorporated in 1716 and comprised Arrowsic island alone : adjacent territory was added in 1738.
204	1	24	Subsequent legal steps did carry the case to the King in council : a new trial was granted, which never occurred.

204	25	25	Cork was east of the bay and river, but the later colloquial "Ireland" is below and west of the river comprising Lawson's purchase of 1649. See "The Transient Town of Cork"—Me. Hist. Coll., 2 Ser., Vol. 4: 240.
205	8	26	His death occurred about 1667. For this and alleged Presbyterianism, see Me. Hist. Coll., 2 Ser., Vol. 8: 298–305. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians came to the Kennebec only at the new settlement, 1716–20.
205	18	27	A name unknown to records; probably constructed by copyist and printer from Moxes, Darumkin, or Worumbee, well known Indian names.
206	5	28	Philbrook and Maloon were captured in 1748.
220	29	29	His autograph is Macclenaghan, as in Me. Hist. Coll., 1 Ser., Vol. 3, p. 274–5. See also 2 Ser., Vol. 10, p. 273–4.
231	21	30	In the war of 1676.
239	8	31	Or New Style, 1651, and his death 1695.
279	11	32	By misapprehension the writer assigned this name to the fort east of the Kennebec in the town of Dresden, as is evident by the same name on p. 199, lines 6 and 7, This "defensible house" in Dresden was called Fort Shirley, or Frankfort, and was built 1751–2. The true Fort Richmond was near the present village of Richmond and was dismantled about 1755, after occupation as a frontier post for thirty-five years.
279	17	33	Was moderator only in 1752–3, and 1764–75. See North's Augusta, p. 290.